SCHOOL EDUCATIONS:
SOCIOLOGICAL SOURCES OF VALUES

DAVID SNEDDEN

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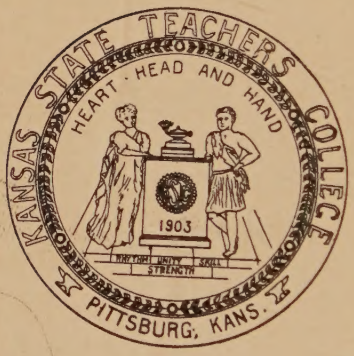

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SCHOOL EDUCATIONS:
SOCIOLOGICAL SOURCES OF VALUES

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PREFACE

The analyses contained in the following pages were prepared primarily to guide graduate students of education towards the partial solution of some of the innumerable problems of educational *values*, educational *objectives*, and educational *means* which everywhere confront policy-makers striving to further effective work in their complex field.

Efficient educations of all kinds, it will be agreed, must seek, like all other sound human policies and practises, to realize "the greatest good to the greatest number." Hence the thousands of possible *purposes* to be achieved through particular educations must represent *resultants* of values to the person educated in any particular way and of the values of that education of his to his fellows—his fellows in his families, his state, his union, his neighborhood, and all his other societies.

Hence the *purposes* of any contemplated kind and degree of education can only be evaluated by taking into account *both* the individual and his present or potential societies—including even those far-flung reaches of his societies which we call America, civilization, international good-will, the Kingdom of God upon earth.

When we get beyond everyday experience, common sense, social customs, and the intuitions of the farsighted in devising and perfecting visions and plans of educational purposes we shall increasingly have to build on the social sciences. Religion and philosophy, the sources of our most inclusive faiths and intentions, may be expected to provide foundations of postulate and hypothesis as to those relatively ultimate values which cannot be subjected to the dissections and testings of objective examination and critical thinking.

But the almost limitless wealth of experiences with, and interpretations of, concrete and proximate social values—the good things of health, of economic competency, of social behaviors, and of culture which every adult American now possesses—provide each well informed person even now, when matched against

the findings of our rapidly evolving social sciences, endless opportunities of genuinely scientific study and promotion of the *better* educational purposes which should increasingly be realized through the very expensive and very fully patronized schools of this rich and ambitious country.

Towards aiding such studies the following chapters are submitted.

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CHAPTER I

SOME APPROACHES

Every well informed person knows: (*a*) that the purpose of each and all kinds of education is to make persons better than they would have been otherwise—better for themselves, better for their prospective families, better for their countries and towns, better for their deities, and better for the other valuable groupings which we call soćieties; (*b*) that a great many wholesome and unwholesome growths, including learnings, which are not purposed enough to be called educations can and do take place in persons; (*c*) that many learnings and other growths, naturalistic or purposefully controlled, take place at least for large proportions of persons through extra-school agencies in optimum measure, leaving schools free to devote their energies to fostering of other learnings; (*d*) that schools (including colleges and all other agencies the primary purpose of which is to promote particular types of valued learning or other growths) have always been provided to take responsibilities for only *some kinds* of learnings or other growths, partly because households, ordinary play places, ordinary worshippings, ordinary work place participations or other extra-school sharings could not give them efficiently or economically; (*e*) that in all early stages the growth controlling functions of schools are largely determined by crude social empiricism—including fashion, the hypnotizing effects of the utterances of supposed seers, prophets, chieftains, and other powerful influencers —and are perpetuated by custom, tradition, and legend; (*f*) that if and when large societies (the state, a religious denomination, a powerful unified economic class, a guild) become highly self-conscious of their purposes, their efficiencies, and their possible control of educative means, they turn sharply critical minds on traditional educations and design scientific processes of effecting reforms; and (*g*) that America is now peculiarly awake to the need of greatly improving the qualities of her enormously extended and elaborated systems of teaching and other growth controlling processes already so expensively developed.

A. The Vast Problems of Education

Wherever educators foregather in professional meetings it is usual to devote part of the agenda of their programs to problems of vast dimensions and multifarious variables. For example:

1. How far can education overcome *hereditary limitations?*

2. How far can education in schools offset the handicappings of *inferior home environments?*

3. Of what use are educations in our "changing civilization," where so much of the future must be unknown?

4. Or, assuming that so much of the future is unknown, what can schools do to "prepare" for it?

5. How can education contribute to progress?

6. Does it seem (as thought by Dr. Bagley) that countries and states (in our country) which have gone farthest in public education have thereby reduced to lowest proportions crime and other "societal diseases"?

7. Can we now conceive of feasible new or more extended types of school educations which would probably materially reduce criminality in our American cities?

8. Do the adolescents of present or recent generations tend far more than previous generations to be contemptuous of prevailing religious (orthodox) beliefs, anarchistic towards enacted statute laws, and callously individualistic, or at any rate coterie-minded, as regards sexal moralities? In other words, what is right, and what is wrong, with "the younger generation"?

9. Is the family, as an agency of controlling towards wholesomeness the growths of children, of declining efficacy?

10. Is there need, and can we considerably use school educations for the purpose of elevating oral English usage among American adults?

11. What have schools done during the last 30 years to (*a*) increase the longevity of, (*b*) decrease the morbidity of, and (*c*) render more temperate in use of stimulants, the American people?

12. Natural science—and especially applications of physics, chemistry, bacteriology, and a few phases of geology—plays a very important and very varied rôle in modern civilized life. Does

that seem to imply that natural science studies should play very important rôles in school curricula? Why? Why in curricula for first six grades? Why in senior high school curricula? Why in liberal colleges?

13. Are Americans making progress in all, or in any one, of the great departments of æsthetic appreciation? What rôles should schools play here?

14. What have inventions and commercialization done for music? For its democratization? For its quality? What are implications for school education in music?

15. What have inventions and commercialization done for the graphic and plastic arts? For their democratization? For the quality of their applications? What are implications for education in graphic and plastic arts?

16. Are Americans becoming a better people civically? In what respects? In what respects do they seem to be going backwards?

17. Are Americans becoming a more cultured people? In what respects? In what respects are they probably going backwards?

18. When human beings are born into this world, are they alike or considerably different in their potentialities? Consider with respect to 25 varied traits.

19. Are differences of hereditary potentialities of much significance in later life when they are:

a. Of body size?
b. Of skin color (racial)?
c. Of blondness or other qualities among "whites"?
d. Of bodily agilities?
e. Of tastes for music?
f. Of abilities to solve mathematical problems?
g. Of abilities to deal with machines?

20. Can moralities—separately considered as specific moral habits, attitudes, ideals, insights, or knowledges—be taught directly? To any useful purpose?

21. Whence do the "moral motivations," the strong desires to do the approved, or the stubborn dispositions to do the disapproved

things, come? From whom? Under what conditions? In what forms?

22. So far as present sociological knowledge goes, can there be strong moralities without religious foundations?

23. Can we hold that so far as the moralities of everyday conduct in American villages are concerned, particular religious beliefs make no perceptible difference?

B. One Set of "Prejudices"

Mr. H. L. Mencken has assembled in several volumes entitled *Prejudices* those of his opinions which run largely counter to popular beliefs, sentiments, or opinions. The present writer, after years of sociological consideration of many phases of public school and extra-school educations and non-educational learnings, has come to hold a considerable range of beliefs which run counter considerably to widely held opinions of educators or laymen or both. Since these are held tentatively he will, in imitation of Mr. Mencken, call them "prejudices." The reader of these pages could add to the gayety of educational theory if he would list his prejudices, too. (Because so many of these opinions seem negative, the reader must not assume that the writer finds more than small proportions of public school education ineffective or "sick.")

To students of educational sociology, then, the writer submits as certain of his strong convictions:

1. That schools for children under 6 years of age are a needless, perhaps injurious, means of wholesome growth (including the controlled learnings which constitute educations) in the cases of American children who come from the better 50 to 75 per cent of American homes—better, that is, as respects American standards, full-time mother service, paternal support, access to open spaces, etc.

2. That the time is not far distant when all the children of all the people will attend full-time schools to 18 years of age, when large proportions of prospective mothers will have received some home economics training, when earning powers of fathers will be better than at present, and when families, except of the very prosperous, will rarely exceed three or four children. Under these

conditions it will seldom be necessary or desirable that children less than 9 years of age enter full-time schools.

3. That the present American high school, in spite of its vogue and wealth, is a practically useless agency of vocational education (except for the one vocation of stenography-typing), is of only very moderate effectiveness in the "physical welfare" educations of its less well developed learners, is without clear objectives of civic education, and is of low-grade effectiveness in the cultural educations of all but its best one-fifth of students.

4. That, in general, collegiate control of high school objectives through subject-matter admission requirements has been of more disservice than service to high schools and has served ends for the colleges which could much better have been met by other means.

5. That in so far as high schools attempt to make contributions to vocational proficiencies they are usually attempting a hopeless task, since the effective learning of vocations invariably requires particularized vocational schools, each one closely linked up with commercially productive work in its vocation.

6. That present-day liberal colleges are floundering in morasses of vague objectives, often following will-o'-the-wisp vocational aims, and thereby failing to realize the valid objectives of honest liberal education.

7. That when America finally wakes up to the great social need of systematized vocational training for the hundreds of vocations which, below the level of the professions, now lack effective apprenticeship, it will find that from one to ten specialized schools per state for each vocation, training to full competency, will solve these problems at no exorbitant cost.

8. That the algebra now taught in American high schools is a non-functional and therefore nearly valueless subject for 90 per cent of all boys and 99 per cent of all girls—and that no changes in methods or content will improve the situation.

9. That the modern language instruction of American high schools is a shameful travesty upon good education, and is in effect a kind of gigantic quackery practised, through no malice, upon parents and supporters of secondary educations.

10. That the history studies as now organized for grades 5 to 12

make *very slight* contributions to civism or the civic virtues, and contribute not a great deal to personal culture—and that the fault is *not* in methods of teaching, but in clear definition of objectives.

11. That home economics in junior and senior high schools is now too *vocationalized* to give the cultures assimilable at those ages.

12. That really good training for homemaking can rarely be given to students less than 19 to 25 years of age under American conditions and should then be given in special, centrally located schools.

13. That the manual or industrial arts at junior high school levels are not worth 1 per cent of their cost as pre-vocational training, nor 2 per cent of their cost as vocation-finding means, nor 1 per cent as "consumer" or "appreciational" education, nor one-half of 1 per cent as "social insight," "how the other half lives" education; but that they are, or can readily be made, worth 70 per cent of their cost in cities as means of developmental (growth producing) experience, and worth 30 per cent of their cost for rural or village boys as "handy-man" training.

14. That we possess as yet no criteria of probable social values to justify teaching music in public schools to others than the 10 or 15 per cent of the most talented.

15. That oral reading as a required subject should be discontinued after the third grade.

16. That in spite of all reductions we still teach two or three times as much arithmetic in the first six grades as will ever prove functional.

17. That the richest *cultural* subject in junior and senior high schools should be *recent* or *current* literatures, at least one-third of which should be looked for in journals.

18. That very little indeed of what should properly be called civic education can be effected in the first six grades.

19. That when we shall have better found ourselves, *civic education* will surpass in importance in grades 7 to 12, not all cultural education, but all that aimed at in "English courses."

20. That substantial proportions of health or physical

educations now given in grades 1 to 6 are usefully functional; but that beyond the first six grades all forms of "physical welfare" educations are now lost in a forest of vague or ambiguous objectives, aspirational mysticisms, and the crass controls of semi-commercialized sports.

C. Some of Your Present Estimates

1. Is it a probably important function of American elementary schools (perhaps deserving 3 to 10 per cent of all school time) to *train* children in English pronunciations? Comment on the following, giving your estimates:

a. It will probably prove (very, somewhat) important to train children from that 30 per cent of all American homes which are (1) of most long American ancestry and which have (2) most parents schooled in correct pronunciations of such words as (give ten), such phonic units as (give ten), and such phrases or collocations as (give ten).

b. It will probably prove needless, with rare exceptions, to train children of the case-type noted in (*a*) above in such words, phonic units, or phrases as (give ten in each case).

c. Repeat (*a*) for "children from homes of Italian born manual working fathers."

d. Repeat (*b*) for children of (*c*) case-type.

e. Repeat (*a*) for "children of nearly illiterate American born, white fathers in the mountains of Tennessee or Kentucky."

f. Repeat (*b*) for case-type in (*e*).

g. Repeat (*e*) and (*f*) for southern rural Negroes.

2. In American systems of school education the following "subjects" seem to be held in high esteem—that is, are popular, have much money spent on them, are given much equipment and often special teachers or supervisors. In each case explain as well as you can the *sources* of such valuations, as well as some present disputes regarding them.

a. Oral reading.
b. Football.
c. Latin.
d. Handwriting.
e. Playground games.
f. Algebra.

g. Medical college vocational education.
h. Histories.
i. Home economics.
j. Industrial arts or "construction work" (ages 4–10).
k. Manual arts (boys, ages 12–15).
l. Typewriting.
m. Written composition (high school).
n. Geography.
o. French.

3. The following subjects seem, in recent years, to have fallen from former higher valuations. Discuss probable reasons.

a. Greek.
b. Callisthenics.
c. English grammar.
d. Word analysis.
e. Rhetoric.
f. Astronomy.
g. Moral philosophy (college).
h. Sewing (girls, ages 10–14).
i. Clay modelling.
j. Agriculture (elementary school).
k. Physiology (as distinct from hygiene).
l. Fine construction work (kindergarten).
m. Gymnastics.

4. The following subjects seem at present to be in unstable equilibrium so far as esteem by educators is concerned. (Your tentative explanations.)

a. Nature study.
b. Music, as general reading of notation.
c. Physical geography (as high school subject).
d. Bookkeeping.
e. Logic (college).
f. Drawing (grades 6–12).
g. Morals or character building.
h. Sex hygiene.

5. What seems to you to be the future in present or yet to be developed schools of:

a. General natural science?
b. Beauty culture?

c. Japanese language and literature?
d. Trade carpentry?
e. Economics (ages 12–18)?
f. Mental science (elementary psychology, mental hygiene)?
g. Current events?
h. Temperance teaching?
i. Physical exercise (as a means of physical development)?
j. Hygiene of feet?
k. Mental gymnastics?
l. Plastic art appreciation?
m. Public speaking?

6. As you see it, are there new *educational objectives* to be developed in the following fields, or are these to be regarded only as *means* to realization of objectives already named:

a. Moving pictures?
b. Radio?
c. Press?
d. Travel and local excursions?
e. Sports?
f. Auditorium assemblages?
g. "Individual instruction"?
h. "Activities"?
i. "Projects"?

D. The Brightening Prospects for a Science of Education

Human beings as a rule evolve *practical arts* of doing their important work long before they obtain for their guidance those kinds and amounts of accurate and tested knowledge which we call science.

Men have had *arts* of steel making for more than thirty centuries—but have had a *science* of steel metallurgy for hardly more than one century. Men in the Nile Valley had some wonderfully effective gardening *arts* perhaps sixty centuries ago. But only within our day has much progress been made towards explaining the *whys* of soil fertilization, seed selection, and prevention of plant disease.

Thousands of years ago, with only some glimmerings of navigational science, sea captains crept from island to island in the Mediterranean. But when clouds obscured the pole star, they were nearly helpless to steer the courses when out of sight of

familiar shores. Now navigational science has perfected instruments which without human aid will steer the ship correctly for a thousand miles.

So it is in nearly all the great fields of human work—agriculture, steel working, live stock husbandry, bridge building, transportation. The progressive peoples, after age-long practise of the arts to the best of their abilities now develop and apply hundreds of kinds of scientific knowledge in order to multiply the efficiencies of their work and greatly to reduce its cost in drudgery, time, and other factors.

Perhaps we educators can find most helpful and hopeful analogies for our own guidance in the field of medicine. For thousands of years men have practised as well as they knew how the *arts of healing* the sick—arts mixed confusedly with magic, superstition and a thousand kinds of quackery. Parallel with these healing arts were practised a few conscious *arts of disease prevention*—but even more chaotically than those of healing.

But what superb foundations have been laid during the two centuries just past for a *scientific medicine!* The work of Pasteur and of his successors opened up almost limitless fields of useful knowledge in one direction. Discoveries in glandular physiology in our own day are opening up others. In many areas of disease prevention also—not by any means all—the scientific medicine of our day has achieved simply marvellous results.

Can we not agree that up to the present the arts of education have evolved through empirical processes as did the arts of steel making until the nineteenth century, the arts of preventing bacterial contagions until Pasteur, or the arts of soil fertilization until our own day?

But we know that the practical sciences of disease healing, sickness prevention, and physical welfare improvement rest increasingly on such basic sciences as physiology, bacteriology, chemistry, psychology, and others. We know that modern steel working rests heavily on chemistry, physics, and other basic sciences. If we are to have educational sciences they, too, in all probability will have to rest on foundations of general or so-called "pure sciences" in large part. Let us press some analogies.

1. What is the *science* of medicine? Obviously, a vast and rapidly expanding field of practical arts (of healing, of drug purification, of electrotherapy, of mosquito control, of quarantine,

and ten thousand other arts). These are now founded, in a large proportion of cases, on fairly exact knowledge of nature's operations. This knowledge, originating often in the hypothesis of keen brains, has been tested experimentally and confirmed statistically. Now it gives foundations for much *prediction* of what will happen—and for much *control* of conditions.

But there are large areas of health need in which medical science cannot yet get reliable knowledge—of what, whence, whither. Cancer is a baffling area, and the endocrine glands still only a partly explored one. The decay of teeth, neuritis, falling arches, intestinal stasis, parturition—all represent areas which *appear* simple, but about which little that is fundamental seems yet known.

Hence in order to get clear analogies from medical science for our nascent educational science, let us rather talk of a thousand particular sciences of hygiene, sanitation, therapy, prevention. Let us consider separately:

a. The well developed science of hookworm prevention and cure.

b. The fad-laden science of adult, working man's dietetics.

c. The wonderful science of surgical asepsis and antisepsis.

d. The marvellous recent advances in goitre study and thyroid hygiene.

e. Significant advances in the science of hay-fever diagnosis and, possibly, treatment.

f. The confusion and helplessness of medical science in the presence of "common colds."

g. Probable need of new foundations of hypotheses to explain susceptibilities of civilized persons to decay of teeth, parturition tragedies, arch troubles, intestinal stasis.

h. Modern science of hospital construction.

2. The arts of guiding the learnings of the young, the arts of teaching, and the even more purposeful arts which we call education are, we know, thousands of years old. Often these arts have been crystallized into systems which remained unchanged for centuries. Often reformers with new theories have had to blast at these in order to effect greatly needed changes.

But out of all these empirical developments have we yet produced a *science of education?*

Let us think of a possible science of education as being composed of these branch sciences:

a. A science of the *material conditions* of school education—just as medical science embraces a science of hospital construction. Here we could include such factors as: scientific fireproofing of school buildings, scientific adjustment of sunlight and artificial light to schoolroom needs, scientific ventilation, and many others.

b. Next let us consider scientific understanding of the *pupil personnel* of our schools—their varied educational potentialities, the health and other conditions under which the different ones learn to best advantage, the prevailing types whose emotions largely affect their learning powers, etc.

c. In the third place, let us consider possible sciences of *methods* of inducing and guiding best learnings towards goals clearly foreseen—that is, best teaching processes. For example: how far have we scientifically established best *methods* (perhaps for each of several types of learners) of teaching the multiplication table, French, baseball pitching, superior moral ideals of property honesty, appreciations of good music?

d. Finally, let us consider possibilities of a *science of educational values*—that is, scientific determination of the *most valuable* achievements out of the million possible ones, which, in the limited time available and in view of the limited learning abilities with which we must deal, are *most important.*

3. Now within the first of the above fields, thanks partly to the cooperations of engineering science, much progress has recently been made. Can we say that the science of building fireproof buildings is nearly as well worked out as the science of bridge building? And that the science of schoolroom lighting is becoming as well established as the science of soil fertilization?

In the second field, will not any careful observer admit that within the last thirty years psychologists and educators together have made literally prodigious contributions towards a science of educational potentialities? Already we are tentatively differentiating our pupils into divisions according to their intellectual powers. Already we are selecting for special educative treatment pupils of highly variant types. Here it can at least be said that a fairly wonderful branch of educational science is in prospect.

With regard to our third division, differences of opinion pre-

vail. The *arts* of methods of teaching are very old. But progress in these arts has taken place at times with considerable rapidity—as in the last twenty years in *methods* of teaching reading.

All educators tend to look to psychology to provide the leads for a science of schoolroom methods.

But in spite of the tremendous activities and productivity of psychologists in recent years, have they as yet materially affected the *customary* and *empirical* methods of teaching a foreign language, subtraction, the ideals supposed to be inspired by history studies, a trade, or the moralities of sex relations? The present writer thinks we have as yet made little approach to a science of method, but it must promptly be added that probably much of the ground-clearing work to that end is now being done by psychologists. In other words, we are splendidly on our way here to great future achievements in educational science.

In our fourth field, that of educational *purposes* and *values*—or stated in some amplification of Herbert Spencer's phrase, what *knowledge*, *skills*, *ideals*, *appreciations* and other good products of learning are of probably *most worth* to different classes of learners —we have little as yet which can be called scientific. Nevertheless, here is the field of most active interest in America just now. Literally hundreds of national, state, professional, and other commissions are engaged in curriculum research, reorganization, and testing. All these bodies have as their central problem questions of educational values. As yet we have few criteria which can certainly be used to guide these curriculum reorganizers. Most educators feel that in the depths of sociology must eventually be found the formulations and measures of the social values from which will be derived the standards and qualities of our educational values. Psychology, physiology, and biology can help but little here. But it will seem fairly certain that with the nation-wide interest of educators awake as it is now, it will not be long before a science of educational values will begin to be shaped to replace our present antiquated systems of customs, beliefs, and *ex parte* opinion.

4. No reproach attaches to educators, psychologists, or sociologists that they are as yet in developing a rounded science of education only somewhat in the same position that medicine was a century ago. Compared with the problems of most phases of a potential educational science, medicine has simple problems, and

very concrete approaches to them. Physiology and chemistry, two basic sciences to medicine, were fairly well developed a century ago. But for educators even, psychology came to a useful stage of growth only within our own time. And even yet sociology—from which must yet come nearly all reliable light on educational values—why that is only beginning to emerge from its philosophical swaddling clothes!

5. The Educator asks the Sociologist:

Can sociologists, political scientists, social pathologists, or other social scientists contribute much of value to the educational executant or policy-maker who today wants help:

a. In determining suitable extensions of, limitations to, or "tapering adjustments" (like compulsory continuation school attendance) to enforced school attendance?

b. In promoting development of cooperative methods of study and other learning in socialized recitations, etc.?

c. In determining optimum objectives for, for example, the liberal college, a "commercial department," or a kindergarten?

d. In ascertaining what kinds of realizable educational values (worths) should be expected, for example, from the natural science studies—separately differentiated, of course, for different case-types of learners?

Can the educator get direct help towards solving the above or any similar problems from the works of Comte, Spencer, Ward, Small, Giddings, Sumner, Jane Addams, the critical contributors to the Annals of the American Sociological Association or the Conference on Social Work?

6. The Sociologist replies to the Educator:

Towards the problems you raise it is doubtful if the social scientists named have contributed much that can immediately be used—though the same reservation could be made regarding most of the prominent philosophers and psychologists of the past.

Nevertheless, every person working today with problems of educational *values*, educational *purposes*, or educational *objectives* must use foundations of *social values*. Educations of all kinds are *means*, not *ends*. Means to what? Only empirically derived or scientifically based schemes of optimum social (eudemic) values can tell. Nothing in life is more *social* than the schemes of valuations which guide us entirely in our collective, and largely in our individual, actions.

CHAPTER II

CURRICULA: AS PLANS AND SPECIFICATIONS FOR EDUCATIVE PROCESSES

A. Some Introductory Interpretations

1. The *work functionings* (for survival, for "life more abundantly") as well as most other functionings of human beings, individually or in groups, take direction and form as results of: (*a*) innate, inherited propensities—tropisms, reflexes, instincts, etc.; (*b*) acquired habits, customs, group sentiments, traditions, and other slow precipitates of interactions of human beings, aided by occasional attractive invention or accidental innovation; and (*c*) conscious planning towards foreseen valued ends, often, now, accompanied by recording or other documentation for objective and fixed expression.

In upbringing of children by parents, imitable examples, scoldings, voiced approvals, gestured warnings, slappings, etc., are all examples of the first (*a*), and are practised by many birds, and by many mammals besides man. The initiations, the taboos, the showings, the task settings, the insignia as rewards, of all clans, tribes, villages, and other groups of primitive humans are examples of the second (*b*), as well as large proportions of household, guild, religious, and simple school educations of recent centuries. Examples of the third (*c*) are found to some extent in ancient military and guild educations, and in such priestly systems as the Jesuit and Evangelical colleges, and in German and American plans of educations of the nineteenth century for political powers.

Such conscious planning of educational procedures towards foreseen ends—of increased physical well-being, of better culture, of more effective civism, of "scientific attitudes," of fuller "natural growth"—now multiplies everywhere, and even assumes grandiose forms under the oligarchies of Italy, Turkey, and Russia, and in the dreams of present-day reformers. (The student will find the schemes of educational Utopias interesting here—Plato, More, Milton, Owen, Swift, Butler (*Erewhon*), Watson.)

2. When "education planners" (policy-makers) have done their work extensively and efficiently their documented and otherwise objectified and standardized products will take such varied forms as:

a. Constitutional enactments, statutes, ordinances, charters, franchises and other documented permissions, mandates, and the like issued by the state (or its administrative parts), all expressing policies of promotion, regulation, restriction, etc.

b. Documented administrative procedures establishing administrative regional divisions, types of schools, financing processes, terms of schools, essential conditions for buildings, requirements of attendance, etc., etc.

c. Documented plans and specifications for learnings and other growth accomplishments to be planned for in schools on behalf of specified classes or types of learners, including detailed prescriptions and suggestions of methods and means shown by experience and research to be those probably most serviceable in achieving the desired results. (Hence textbooks, hourly schedules, printed subject matter courses, laboratory outfits, etc., can all be thought of as elements of these instructional plans and specifications.)

3. Mr. and Mrs. A want to have a house built for them. They seek out an architect, B. In somewhat vague ways they tell him what they want. They cannot spend more than $20,000 on the house. The lot is on a hillside. They want porches, kitchen, living room in certain positions. They want up-to-date plumbing. The architect first draws rough plans, having in mind the desires and also the ignorances of his clients. In time all are agreed. The architect then draws up *detailed plans and specifications*—all documented—for the guidance of *himself*, of his *clients* and of the *builders* to be employed. These plans commonly give exact dimensions, and the specifications indicate types of locks to be used, color of brick, quality of glass for windows, etc. The architect has not been, of course, in possession of all needed detailed information himself. He goes to various specialists for advice—on cost of excavation, on electrical equipment for this type of house, on difficulties in several connections.

From these documented, very carefully drawn, plans, blue prints will be taken for the guidance of each contractor and, under him, for guidance of each workman. Because these plans

embody the *purposes* of the owners, and the *general knowledge* of the architect, contractors and workmen cannot go *outside* them. Within the specifications each workman does his best, presumably —that is, uses the best *methods*, the best *techniques*, to accomplish *results* valuable to the others.

4. The *curriculum* of a given school or type of school is here conceived as presenting many analogies to the plans and specifications of architect B.

C is a small city. Its board of education authorizes a complete revision of the elementary school curriculum (first six grades) —or, as often miscalled, "course of study" (each subject is made into a course or courses, obviously). The energetic superintendent organizes a general committee and several subcommittees, including some well informed laymen, as members, and sets to work.

He prevails upon his committees to regard themselves temporarily as "builders freed from tradition." "Let them think only of the needs of their city, their state, their country, the best of present-day civilization—and of the optimum well-being, present and prolonged, in their local and 'great' societies of those whom the schools will affect." Assume that the parents and the other citizens of city C are like Mr. and Mrs. A, only instead of a pleasing house, they want good schooling for their children, the superintendent and his advisers being the architects.

In conformity with all that is most scientific and most efficient in our age, the superintendent insists on very full documentation of the revised curriculum. "Most of our elementary school teachers are young; all are very busy; and almost none, at their times of life, are really originators. Within the limits of our needs of uniform outcomes of instruction and training at the end of each year, and of use of such expensive materials as textbooks, laboratory equipment, and school furniture, they will be encouraged to use the *means* and *methods* proven effective in their teacher-training courses—provided these were *proven* very good, and not merely talked about aspirationally." So we need very explicit documentation of our requirements, very explicit presentation of our suggestions and recommendations of means and methods, and very full description of the varied means (readings, experiments, exercises, etc.) from which each teacher can choose those seemingly best adapted to her immediate purposes. In courses in which textbooks are used, these are in effect parts of the

curriculum. We know, indeed, that a favorite textbook, for example, in geography, was the only expressed course in that subject not many years ago in large proportions of schools.

5. But, no matter how much they seek to innovate, the curriculum makers for city C will find their fields of action circumscribed in many ways. First, they find that state statutes, some old and general, some more recent and very specific, have been designed to prescribe what "an elementary school" should teach. Second, centuries of "trial and error" processes have crystallized a series of fairly definite customs as to valuations, procedures, and the like from which our curriculum makers will make no great departures, partly because these customs have proven so good, and partly because, even where their validity is doubtful, we possess as yet no criteria or techniques for working out probably better substitutes for them. In other words, in types of schools which have been evolving over long periods many of the objectives, the subjects, the means, and even the methods have become, as it were, so standardized that extensive departures from them would seem like the rashest of exploration into unknown territory —as would, indeed, similar departures in steam engine construction, in wheat growing, in schoolhouse construction and other fields of work.

6. How many distinct kinds of curricula will the system of schools of city C have? Let us analyze a few possible case situations.

a. Several kindergarten "centers" have recently been established in city C. One of these has a "pre-kindergarten" nursery school especially designed for the safe custody of children of manual-working mothers. The superintendent and board of education, having established these centers, and selected well recommended and obviously enthusiastic teachers for them, have thereafter left the making of "curricula" for the most part to these same teachers. The superintendent has done this largely because he is in the dark as to the actual educative functions of kindergartens and day-nursery schools. Of course he expects the little ones to be given safe custody, good shelter and very humane treatment. He hopes they will be happy and play much. He knows that the teachers are clean, attractive young women, using good English and good manners at all times. Beyond these

things—what? He has no theories himself of educational values for these ages, he finds that enthusiastic kindergartners speak a pedagogical language which is somewhat mystical to him, so he leaves them to shape or to extemporize the elements of their curricula as they see fit. Perhaps there will be very little documentation. Perhaps each teacher will make and remake her "curriculum" as she goes on from day to day. Perhaps, in her enthusiasm, she will "let the children make their own curricula" —as they so largely do out of school in their play place learnings.

b. City C has two high schools—known as the "Central" and the "Manual Arts." The first has three "courses," so-called—the "sub-classical" (a "classical" course was abandoned a few years ago), the "English-scientific," and the "commercial." The second has also three "courses"—the "manual arts" (for boys only), the "household arts" (for girls), and the "commercial."

Since the two commercial courses are substantially alike we can say that the high schools of city C offer five curricula, though certain "English" courses are prescribed in all (with, however, some current pressure to specialize new types of these courses for commercial students).

The superintendent knows that neither he nor his teachers have done much to affect educational custom (as implicit in the minds of citizens and teachers) or traditional controls (as expressed in college entrance requirements and national committee standardizations of particular fields of subject matter) which now determine his curricula in the "Central" high school. He also knows that he and his teachers have largely followed recent custom and popular hobby in devising the three curricula of the "Manual Arts" high school—though the shrewd superintendent is not at all convinced of the "values" of the newer offerings in these schools.

Hence at present the documented curricula of these schools are brief, commonly given in tabular form, and say but little as to actual objectives of courses in subjects. The departmentalized teachers use the published curricula hardly at all for their guidance.

The superintendent is convinced that the actual offerings of these schools in "achievements" of new learnings, whether for culture or civism or health conservation or mental discipline or prevocational competency, are of pretty inferior kinds. But the

reconstructions will have to come from central sources of research, study, promotional influence. He and his busy teachers cannot originate much.

B. Some Idealized Proposals for Curricula as Instruments of Efficient Educative Procedures

1. Present tendencies in American education indicate that these can be taken as probably safe hypotheses as to factors hereafter conditioning curriculum development:

a. The human personnel responsible for all phases of education can be divided into two major classes: (1) policy-makers: ranging from parents, citizens, legislators, and school boards through state, county, and city administrative officials to school principals and supervisors, and including committees of abler teachers aiding in curriculum construction and other planning; and (2) executants: teachers, largely young, immediately in charge of daily teaching, and usually being actively engaged in instructional work for from twenty to thirty hours per week.

b. Increasing tendencies of the *state*, through its legislatures, and as advised by its executive educational departments, to develop and give explicit formulation to the broader and more basic educational *purposes* of the state to be achieved through its many kinds of public schools from kindergarten to state university, and through the several kinds of curricula within the more complex of these schools. Increasingly, too, the *state* will tend to establish minimum standards of achievement expected, varieties of specialized or novel objectives which may be experimented with locally, minimum teacher qualifications to be approved, and other "bounding" conditions. Relatively large flexibilities of action will be left to local authorities *within* the general and minimum standards (1) mandated and (2) made permissive by the state.

c. Increasing tendencies of administrators and specially qualified aids (supervisors, experienced and originative teachers, curriculum and other research specialists, principals, etc.) in local areas (counties, cities, towns, districts for special schools) to document extensive plans and specifications of work of particular schools or types of schools for the sake of (1) scientific efficiency of programming in general, (2) the help and guidance of executants, and especially the young and uninventive, and (3) the provision

of clearly defined foundations against which the educationally productive work of executants and of schools may be measured and evaluated.

d. Steadily diminishing tendencies to expect or to assume that from perhaps 95 per cent of executants in elementary (first six grade) schools, and 70 per cent of (departmentalized) executants in secondary schools can be expected any material contribution towards formulation of objectives, reconstruction of courses, or other *policy determining* functions—partly on account of their youth, partly because of low inventiveness, and mainly because of their intense absorption in daily routine teaching tasks—ranging from 600 to 1,000 pupil hours of teaching per week for the great majority.

2. The mechanisms and terminologies now in use in organizing curricula and their constituent elements are still very chaotic and indeterminate. For purposes of the work here presented and as suggestions towards more orderly procedure the following scheme of organization and terms is proposed:

a. The term "curriculum" shall be used to denote the inclusive body of school offerings to a fairly homogeneous class of learners over a period, commonly, of from one to several years. This term would, then, replace our present vague and ambiguous uses of the term "course of study"—e.g., the "classical course," the "commercial course," the "industrial arts course" (in secondary schools), the elementary school course of study, the "course of study of a medical college," etc.

b. The term "course" shall be used to designate a selected portion or amount of school offering within *one* fairly homogeneous field of subject matter—e.g., a first year course in Latin, the junior high school course in industrial arts, a "short unit course in the use of the slide rule," etc.

c. It is proposed to use the word "theme" to designate those types of more or less natural or logical units into which a "course" may be subdivided for purposes of day-to-day administration. In some subjects a "theme" will correspond to a "topic" as that unit has been developed under the "topical method." In others, it will correspond to the "lesson." Frequently a "project" would constitute a convenient "theme unit." So might an "exercise," a "chapter," a "reading," an "experiment" (and its related reading), an excursion, a lecture, a job (in a vocational school) and

other subdivisions which educators must make for orderly procedure by hours, steps, etc. Ideally, a "theme" should perhaps always be large enough to require at least one hour of learning (or teaching) and not so large as to require more than ten hours. In any case it should be "natural" so far as practicable, but arbitrarily artificial where necessary.

d. The term "school year" is now fairly well standardized. The word "term" is not, because school years are variously subdivided into two, three, and four terms. In secondary schools the term "hour" or "period" is fairly well standardized, even though its relation to "point," "count," or "term hour" is still confused.

It is also obvious that because the term "hour" or "period" commonly denotes a unit of time of recitation or lecture or experimentation to which the pupil must add indeterminate amounts of outside preparation, it is still a very poor unit. (What total effort, for example, is put respectively on an hour (or one period) of Latin, laboratory chemistry, elementary school nature study, and play place baseball, respectively?)

It is submitted that for purposes of curriculum analysis we greatly need a well standardized unit intermediate between year (or term) and "hour." It is therefore proposed to employ the term "*lotment*" to designate thirty clock hours given to any kind of school-controlled educative activity, and to embrace private work as well as classroom recitation, done by the learner. Suppose pupils of modal powers in the activity concerned are expected or elect to give: one hour a week for thirty weeks to debating; one hour a day to study and one-half hour to recitation in Latin for twenty weeks; or one-half hour daily for five days per week for twelve weeks—in each case the time covered would be one lotment. (If we assume that normal junior high school pupils should give six clock hours daily to all forms of school controlled work (curricular and extra-curricular) for one hundred and eighty days a year, then their total available time is six times one hundred and eighty, divided by thirty—or thirty-six lotments.)

e. Eventually, it is going to prove indispensable to purposes of scientific analysis of educational values that we have a "unit of learning achievement" much smaller than the "theme." The present writer uses the term "peth" for such a small unit. But consideration of this unit is not necessary for the present course.

f. It is believed that present distinctions between "curricu-

lar" and "extra-curricular" school activities must disappear. *All* school-controlled, school-directed, school-influenced learning or other growth activities must come to be regarded as *curricular*.

g. A particular curriculum may be *flexible* or rigid, according as it provides alternative courses or optional courses or only a fixed program.

h. Similarly, a given course may be flexible or rigid according as it does or does not suggest and permit alternate "themes" for choice of pupil or teacher.

i. Such confusing expressions as "the history curriculum," the "home economics curriculum of the high school," etc., are not permitted under the conditions suggested above.

j. Neither is it logical to speak of "the curriculum of a university," or of "a vocational school." The university has as many curricula as it has distinct classes of functional objectives, each class designed to produce a fairly homogeneous composite result. "A vocational school" is either a school of carpentry, of stenography-typing, or of some other vocation. It offers, therefore, a "carpentry" or some other concrete training curriculum.

3. Let us assume that the superintendent of schools of city C, aided by several selected committees of principals and more originative teachers, including a few strong laywomen in advisory capacities, is providing a "reconstructed" curriculum for elementary (first six grades) teachers, and that in giving it shape he and his associates have in mind primarily young women teachers of from 20 to 25 years of age. Let us assume that these policy-makers have already done all that is now practicable in assembling for their own use the prescriptions of state legislation, the requirements and recommendations of state officials, the results of research available from various centers, the textbooks offered by various publishers, the best practises to be observed in other progressive centers, etc. Regarding the documented curriculum of, let us say, 400 pages as a guidebook, a *vade mecum*, a handbook, a bluebook, a series of maps, a volume of "plans and specifications" for the young teachers, what should be its parts and characteristics? These are proposed:

a. Surely at the outset these teachers are entitled to a fairly extensive and concretely analyzed statement of what best available educational philosophy, sociology, and psychology find to be at once the most desirable *and* the most practicable (that is, the

optimum) *purposes*, *aims*, or *objectives* of school education of the first six grades? Surely they are entitled to something more realistic, less aspirational, than the fatuous aphorisms so freely used by lecturers: "the school is to prepare for life," "the school is a social institution," "the school should socialize the child," "the school should promote the creative activities of the child"—or that other gem, "the school is to take the child from where he is to where he ought to be"!

As far as practicable, the *purposes* of the elementary school curriculum which these teachers are expected to administer will be interpreted in terms of the personal and social *goods* or *values*, most needing to be promoted by *school* educations—such goods as health conservations, widened cultural appreciations, cooperative moral behaviors, and the like—these being given further concrete interpretation through the means employed to realize them, the particular knowledges, skills, attitudes, tastes, performance abilities produced over handwriting, reading, handwork, physiological knowledge, etc.

Certainly it will prove helpful to these teachers to learn how research into social needs and the effects of extra-school learnings shows the desirability of giving much time in the first six grades to the learning of processes of *written* communication, whereas for children of English-speaking parentage, relatively little time need be given to supplementing by school learnings the oral English learned in the household.

b. But so far as clear-cut statement of objectives is concerned, these young teachers will be most helped by concretely expressed formulations of the purposes of particular fields of objectives. The curriculum prescribes that certain proportions of time must be given to manipulative arts, construction work. To what ends? What kinds of appreciations are expected to result? What degrees of manual constructive ability on the part of the children with scissors, paper, saws, clay? Why?

Let the documented curriculum explain rather fully the actual values to be aimed at in the teaching of music, in letting the children follow their own games on the playground, in training them in persistent bodily postures, and in guiding the scores of other types of prescribed, advised, or permitted learnings characteristic of all our progressive schools. Reference can be made, of course, to the fact that some of these values—e.g., mastery

of essential spelling—have long been accepted by custom; that others have been determined or at any rate crystallized by legislative statute—e.g., teaching evil effects of narcotics; and that still others—e.g., local adaptations of nature study—represent local experimentations with modified or adapted subjects.

c. But do the policy-makers expect equal attainments from children of all levels of capacity, of potential ability? And do they expect equal results irrespective of the varying educative backgrounds of children in such fields as English pronunciation, hygiene practises, or morality appreciations? That would be folly.

Hence the young teachers here considered should find in the elaborated curriculum handbook, first recognition of the division of classes into two or three levels of learning abilities, and then a host of suggestions as to how school offerings may be adapted to each class, and also to a moderate degree to individuals within the class of unusual types of household or other background environment.

d. The *means* of teaching are here taken to include textbooks, apparatus, pictures, and other *objective* aids. The *methods* of teaching include the teacher's subjectively held and often artistically expressed procedures in using the means at her disposal, and all her other procedures, in getting desired results.

Must we not assume that the curriculum handbook here considered will, after clearly indicating objectives and making clear the values sought through them, give in much detail all that scientific study, experience, and belief have to offer as to *best means* and *methods*? Surely these will be presented richly and in enough variety to give the teacher considerable range for the exercise of her own powers of choice and initiative.

C. The Foundations of Curricula: Some Guiding Principles

1. All human activities are resultants of, or compromises between, human desires and the limiting conditions imposed by nature. Men who would move mountains or capture whales or fly in the air or acquire the use of mathematical instruments must take great pains and make many inventions in order to overcome the resistances of nature.

Hence, in a broad sense, it can be held that all our educative procedures, with children or with ourselves, must represent com-

promises or resultants between our ambitious desires to have learned or to learn much, and the difficulties of learning resulting from the constitution of our nervous systems, including the brain. The foundations of school curricula can, then, be worked out largely under the heads suggested by these four questions:

a. What are the "good things" which we want our children or ourselves to learn (or what kinds of growths do we want)?

b. Of these "good things" which are so ineffectively learned from extra-school agencies that schools should be expected to direct such learnings in whole or in part?

c. What restrictions are imposed upon our desires for much learning on the part of children or ourselves by limitations in learning abilities (or capacities) and in motivations for learning found in all or some children?

d. What restrictions are imposed upon our desires for much learning on the part of our children or ourselves by limitations of time available, of energy and health available, and of teachers, teaching methods, teaching means, and other aids available?

2. The "good things," "things of worth," personal values (valuables), social (group) values (or valuables), and other prized things of human life can be counted by millions. Some of these come from external sources—wheat, gold, the protection of a river, sunshine. Many of them are effects of our own growth—growth in strength, in use of speech, in mastery of tools, in cooperative kindliness towards others. Large proportions of our highly valuable growths are in the nature of learnings of the useful knowledges, arts, customs, and beliefs which have been accumulated in the social inheritance—the multiplication table, what causes malaria, the shape of the earth, how America came to be occupied largely by white people, the usefulness of a political constitution, tillage, monogamy, monotheism. To a very great extent the more elemental of our valuable learnings are acquired from parents, playfellows, elder workers, moving pictures, show windows, newspapers, and our personal explorations of nature and the works of man about us.

3. But much of this extra-school learning, though pleasant, is not very purposeful, or is mixed with defects, or proceeds at a very slow rate. Hence schools are provided by all advanced societies (at first by families or guilds for their protected ones, then by

philanthropy for the neglected ones, and finally by the state for all) to provide for the more purposeful and more speedy acquisition of some learnings and other forms of growth through means and methods as direct and efficient as practicable. Perhaps "schools" or their equivalents in hours set apart when the old and wise taught the young, were first organized some thousands of years ago to teach the more or less secret religious rituals, and the complex arts of warfare. Within historic times they were largely organized to teach the arts of written communication. Perhaps metal working, priestly cult, magic working, and other guilds or semi-secret societies organized classes tens of thousands of years ago to effect even better learnings than were effected through apprenticeship methods. In our day the range of "good learnings" expected to be effected in and through schools tends steadily to expand—to include useful learnings of means of keeping health, of performing trades, of writing, of taking part in politics, of the finer enjoyment of leisure, and hosts of others.

So far has delegation of control and promotion of valuable learnings to schools gone that professional teachers now tend everywhere to become oblivious to, and to undervalue the enormous range of valuable learnings which still take place outside the schools—learnings of oral speech, of bodily movements, of moral behaviors, of euthenic (utilizers) tastes, of nature knowledge, of knowledge of the works of man, of religious beliefs, of manners, of simple tool practises, and ten thousand others.

4. Learnings are growths—though not all growths are learnings. But growths take time. Only rarely are some learnings nearly instantaneous. A store of knowledge is like a store of wheat—it must be accumulated bit by bit. A body of habits or skills must be built up step by step as one would climb a mountain. Even ideals, tastes, attitudes are growths which can only in a degree be made to develop fairly rapidly.

Not only are learnings, like art, "long." There are many "good things" which few or none of us can learn at all—such are the limitations of those internal nerve cells, glands, and other physiological mechanisms by means of which we learn or in which we somehow store the results of learning. None of us can learn to fly with his own limbs, alone, nor any one learn to run a mile in two minutes. Few of us can learn to compose the kinds of music or poetry which cultured men of today would applaud. Not many

brains seem to be able to learn several foreign languages easily and effectively. Only some girls can learn to be rapid and accurate stenographers. Perhaps many persons are disqualified by their natural powers to learn fine and altruistic ideals or desires for cooperative behavior with other human beings not closely related to them. Perhaps there are brains and accompanying emotional natures which are hardly more capable of learning, no matter how good the teaching, to love a remote deity than are the cows in the pasture. And, of course, persons differ naturally or by circumstance in their desires for, their motivations towards, different kinds of learning.

5. Finally, all those controls of learning which we include under teaching or education are arts like all other human arts. As such, no man exercises them perfectly; as such, they are of low effectiveness unless operated through excellent, often costly, tools. As such, in their early stages, they rest very slightly on that tested knowledge which we call science. As such, they have to be learned by successive generations of very human, and often selfish and indolent, workers, and hence are rarely learned more than partly. The effectiveness of all those guidances and coercions of learnings which we call teachings and educations is very greatly restricted by the methods and means of teaching thus far evolved, and the trainings of the teachers we are able to procure, the time available for school purposes, and the other resources placed at the disposal of educators.

D. Some Concrete Applications

1. Each one of the following case-situations could require its specific curriculum:

a. Age levels 2–4 (two-year curricula for all undefective children, environmentally conditioned to require):

(1) Day Custodial Schools (Day Nurseries) (for children of mothers out-working at least eight hours per day).

(2) Household Shortage Compensatory Schools (to compensate for specified defects in home or adjacent environments—physical, sociability, moral, intellectual).

(3) Mothers Relief Schools (for normal, home-working mothers, desiring two or more hours per day of vacation from their children for personal development, shopping, etc.).

(4) Pre-Kindergarten Schools (for normal children of

normal homes, but designed to provide positive education of kinds or quantities beyond that which homes can give).

(5) (Other types).

(6) Special problems: Should the week and year for (1) be respectively six days and fifty-two weeks? Whence can be gotten "norms" or "standards" whereby to judge needs in other types?

b. Age levels 4–6 (two-year curricula for all normal children, but environmentally conditioned as indicated):

(1) Day Custodial Schools (as above).

(2) Household Shortage Compensation School (as above).

(3) Kindergarten (for normal children from modal separate house homes to which mothers give full time, fathers manual workers).

c. Age levels 6–9 (three-year curriculum—grades 1 to 3—for all normals, courses to be separately classified as: minimum essentials; alternatives (if any proposed); flexible enrichment courses, not taken strenuously).

d. Age levels 9–12 (three-year curriculum—grades 4 to 6 inclusive) with separate classification of minimum essentials and other courses—or portions of courses.

(1) Special curriculum for "mentally dull" (low 20 per cent), ages 9–12, irrespective of grades, in large schools easily permitting segregation for some periods.

(2) Special curriculum for "mentally bright" (high 20 per cent), ages 9–12, irrespective of grade, in large schools permitting of some departmentalized special classes.

e. Age levels 12–14 (two-year non-vocational flexible curriculum for mentally normal, admissible to grades 7 and 8). Clearly define and classify: minimum essentials for all; alternative (often miscalled elective) courses; optional supplemental courses; school supervised extra-curricular educative activities; and other distinguishable elements.

(1) Two-year curriculum for mentally dull (low 20 per cent), separately treating minimum essentials, vocational testing, sports, etc.

(2) Two-year curriculum for mentally superior (high 20 per cent), with especial reference to novel elements of *projective* value.

f. Age levels 14–16 (two-year non-vocational flexible cur-

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riculum for nearly normal 50 per cent grades 9 and 10 in ordinary high school, or grade 9 in junior, and grade 10 in senior high school).

(1) Special general, liberal or non-vocational curriculum (flexible) for low 30 per cent mentally, but willing to remain in full-time school to 16 years of age.

(2) Special liberal curriculum for high 20 per cent.

(3) Samples of "vocationalized" curricula, if desired.

g. Age levels 16–18. Liberal or non-vocational two-year curriculum for low three-quarters of the mentally high 50 per cent of all of these ages.

(1) Special curriculum, non-vocational, for highest one-eighth of all of these ages.

(2) Full-time vocational curriculum—thirty to eighty weeks—for girls preparing for stenography, typing.

(3) Full-time vocational curricula for any two of 100 specific juvenile vocations (usually followed only two or three years) to take from twelve to twenty-four weeks, but including cooperative school supervised participation in commercial production as one-half to two-thirds of total hours of training (total, 500 to 1,000 hours).

(4) Combination curriculum for Vocation A (to be specified) and further general education, two years (or less).

(5) Sample non-vocational curriculum for "compulsory continuation" school, for ages 15–17, requiring four hours weekly of attendance for thirty-six weeks for three years.

h. Age levels 18 years and above.

(1) Liberal two-year curriculum for types of students now entering college, but as yet interested in no particular ultimate vocation.

(2) Professional training curriculum for selected women high school graduates preparing by eighty weeks' full-time training to be elementary school teachers (of first six grades only).

(3) Vocational training full-time curriculum of twelve weeks for men at least 20 years old, irrespective of previous employment and at least of sixth grade schooling, preparing to be policemen. (Or use, instead, for men of same qualifications: two-year full-time curriculum for carpentry; six weeks for street car motoring; four weeks for motor truck driving; twenty weeks for barbering, ten weeks for drill press operator).

(4) Extension *cultural* curriculum for men, age 21 to 40, two evenings per week for thirty weeks, manual workers, usually less than 100 I.Q., averaging eight grades of previous schooling, strongly "labor-class" conscious.

(5) Medical curriculum, for general practitioner, four years (plus ten semester hours taken as "prevocational" courses in freshman and sophomore years in general college) open only to persons having completed first two years of general college work and commonly about 20 years of age at outset.

(6) Elementary school principal curriculum (forty weeks, full time) to train elementary school principals (open only to normal school graduates or equivalent who can show evidences of five years' successful experience as elementary school teachers).

(7) Machine shop room foremanship curriculum (twelve weeks) open only to successful operatives, at least 25 years of age.

(8) Four-year liberal curriculum for selected high school graduate women willing to take A.B. degree before undertaking any vocational specialization.

2. Let each member of the class propose for one of the foregoing situations, (*a*) controlling principles and (*b*) outlines or preliminary formulations of an hypothetical curriculum (or, if desired, for such a situation as (5) two or more curricula). Devise helpful methods of showing how your proposed curriculum takes account of some or all of these conditioning factors:

a. That the derivation of educational *objectives* is from educational *values*, and the derivation of educational values is from social *values*.

(1) Social values can be separately considered as health conserving, body-developmental, vernacular oral English, written English, moral, religious, civic, "handy-man craftwork," family making, cultural (satisfaction of larger curiosities), anti-criminal, etc.

(2) But social values are in some 70 per cent of cases usually realized in some degree without the aid of schools at all—e.g., English speech, everyday moralities, accumulation of current information, acquiring vocational powers, practising hygiene, liking music, etc. (Exceptions are found in several branches in written English, mathematics, distant geography, a foreign language, etc.). Hence in proposals of courses for curricula we need somehow to introduce *quantitative* designating terms in addition

to *qualitative* terms if our proposals are to have directive serviceability. Here try to use only with modifiers such terms as "to think," "to practise hygiene," "to speak English correctly," etc. *All* American adults, it can now be alleged, already know how to think, practise hygiene, speak English, etc., in *some degree*. Make clear the *added degree* or *quantity* of excellence or good thing sought.

(3) *Social* values may be immediate, proximate, or remote as respects maximum realization. Learning to play marbles at the age of 9 may yield a boy large present satisfactions, but no tangible ones after ten years. Learning the multiplication table at 9 years of age under some conditions may yield little immediate use or satisfaction of desire, but such learning may function fully at from 23 to 50 years of age.

(4) Hence educational values can similarly be distinguished as of immediate, contrasted with deferred, functioning—developmental versus projective educational values.

b. That the masteries or achievements, having assumed educational and next social values, which we set up as objectives, can certainly be distinguished as:

(1) Those giving service or use chiefly as *performance* or *productive* powers—e.g., spelling, multiplication table, essential factual knowledge of geography and history, practises of hygiene, etc., and,

(2) Those giving service as *appreciations*, *capacities for superior utilization*, *wise choice*, etc.—literature, health conservation needing expert or specialist service, utilization of music, etc.

c. That in the prolonged infancy of childhood and youth there are often *optimum* periods for particular types of learning—e.g., household vernacular, ages 1–5; trigonometry, ages 14–18; a foreign language by imitative speech methods, ages 2–10; a foreign language by book methods, ages 12–18; a trade, ages 16–20; multiplication table, ages 9–12; etc.

(1) It may be of far greater *psychological* importance that particular types of learning not be commenced too early than that they be commenced too late. But it may be of great sociological importance that many types of learning not difficult for young persons be gotten out of the way before the adulthood concerns of self-support, family rearing, voting, soldiering,

mature recreations, and separation from parental household, become intense preoccupations.

(2) Finding optimum ages for studies for different types of mental power may be an important consideration in being able to utilize maximum *native* or *readily contagious* interests. For example: can girls 14–17 years of age be readily interested in homemaking—just as they are severing parental family ties and are only as yet dreaming of conjugal family ties? Do boys 4–10 years of age naturally care much for group competitive games—the outgrowths in adolescence perhaps of ten thousand centuries of band conflict with animals and rivals?

(3) The present writer is convinced that under social incentives now found in America it is neither opportune nor profitable to begin serious trade training of boys less than 16 and preferably not less than 18 years of age.

d. That optimum conditions for learning as well as optimum methods for teaching (towards apprising young teachers as to all discovered facts concerning these your proposed curriculum should also devote much space) certainly involve the fullest practicable use not only of optimum *ages*, but of other *learning interest conditioning factors* (for the purpose sought) as well, such as time of day; conditions resulting from feeding, sleeping, resting; stimulating, even competing, companionship; apperceptive foundations in the particular field involved, etc.

(1) It is here assumed that children's *interests*, felt *needs* (as conscious *wants*), spontaneous or nearly spontaneous *activities* and the like do not in the least *determine* projective educational values, and only moderately determine *developmental* values at, for example, ages 2–10 (as particular food appetites do not necessarily indicate dietetic values). That, on the other hand, they do not determine, but they do severely *condition realization* of such values at ages 16–30.

(2) But these interests, felt needs, etc., should always be taken, first as valuable indices of *opportuneness* of particular teachings, and of suitability of methods being employed—provided it is always understood that some kinds of learning, as enforced by authority, can never be more than slightly inherently interesting, and hence must be furthered through employment of *extrinsic* interests—the interests, of course, that determine the *work* achievements of more than 90 per cent of

all adult working men and women—from college professors to hod-carriers.

e. That properly sharp distinctions be made between learnings (of kinds sometimes, but much oftener, of degrees) undertaken or pursued in the *work* spirit and those undertaken in the *play* spirit.

(1) Children from 1 to 4 years of age should, perhaps, be required to do almost nothing in the *work* spirit, children from 6 to 12 years of age not more than two to three hours daily, while from 12 to 20 years of age, from three (early) to six (towards maturity) hours of daily intellectual labor may not be too much.

(2) It is here suggested that, in general, studies or other learnings primarily developmental will, in the degrees found optimum, prove capable usually of execution in the *play* spirit.

(3) Likewise it is strongly surmised that, whereas every type of learning activity in certain inceptive stages is capable of being achieved in the *play* spirit (just as certain early stages of any type of manual work can be play for the fresh body), yet nearly all types of projective learning in optimum amounts will require large enlistment of the *work* spirit.

(4) It seems hard for educators and other idealists to distinguish between *work* and *play*. Play is commonly pursued in response to intrinsic interests, desires for immediate values, obliviousness to remote ends. Its effects are not generally objectively valuable. Most of the world's work—even hunting, fishing, and music playing when pursued as means of livelihood—is pursued for *contingent, extrinsic, or derived* values rather than intrinsic delight in the activity itself (except, often, for the first hour or two of the working day, the first week after a vacation, etc.). These contingent values are, obviously, the purchasing power of the earnings of the wage-earner, the escape from punishment of the slave, the praise of an approving master, the social dignity arising from military or professional success, and the like.

CHAPTER III

GROWTHS (INCLUDING LEARNINGS), NATURALISTIC AND PURPOSED, OF INDIVIDUALS TO OPTIMUM EUDEMIC COMPETENCY

A. Some Things Already Well Known

The competency of a society—a family, a nation, a congregation, a collegiate institution, a clan, a corporation—to serve its members is conditioned by, or is the resultant of, several factors: the economic, climatic, and other resources of the earth's surface available for it; the social inheritance of arts, tools, animal servants, etc., it has been able to evolve or borrow; the institutional efficiency it has been able to produce; and the adequacy of its individual human members. Regarding these last the well informed know:

1. That babies and small children can contribute nothing of importance to the economic productiveness, defence, inventions, order enforcement, family rearing, creative arts, effective worshippings, sickness preventions, or scientific researches of modern societies.

2. That down through the ages of man's evolution a steady premium seems to have been given by natural and other conditions of human survival to those hereditary and social inheritance factors which made for prolongation of infancy as a period of getting fully prepared for the increasingly complex responsibilities of adult life.

3. That in proportion as societies acquire the resources of culture which we call civilization, the period of infancy—here defined as that period in which the individual takes more than he gives to the maintenance resources (economic, defensive, family rearing, order enforcing, educative) of such societies—tends to be prolonged until in our more successful classes it rises to 18, 20, 22, or even more years of age, with the rank and file of democracy-favoring Americans nearly all striving to realize for their offspring the advantages already achieved by the more fortunate.

4. That under paleolithic, neolithic, or primitive metal working stages of social evolution, clan or village life was so simple in its arts, customs, lores, and behaviors, that children *growing up* in household and neighborhood could readily be trusted to acquire by imitative learning, by abundantly available trial and error experimentations, by frequent impulsive showings and tellings from elder playfellows, parents, and self-appointed counsellors, *nearly all* (not quite *all*) of the arts, customs, beliefs, ideals, knowledges, lores, skills and other possessions which would make them in their adult years fit men and women to "carry on" the collective life of the group—and perhaps to add microscopically to it. There remained, so far as we now know primitive anthropology, a few things in the social inheritance so alien to simple imitative learning that they were in solid societies taught largely by old men, leading warriors, keepers of rituals, wise women, guild masters, medicine men—most difficult being the arts and endurances of warfare, next the rituals of religion and magic, and least difficult the more recent or most complex of economic arts—in early historic times bronze and iron working, animal snaring, pottery production and seafaring. For these were not only training periods and tests, but final initiations and certifications.

5. That *schools*, as any and all agencies having some sort of guidance or enforcement of learning, aided by personal teaching as primary functions, are to be called, are only historically of yesterday—some for children of most favored classes having perhaps existed thirty or more centuries ago, but not until two or three centuries ago were they made available for more than 2 to 10 per cent of all children.

6. That of the millions of kinds and degrees of growth (including all learnings) of which children are capable during sociological infancy (e.g., birth to 18 years of age) only a small proportion (shall we estimate 2 per cent?) can under any ordinary conditions so be brought under the aid and direction of schools as to be called *school educative* growths.

7. That even of those hundreds of thousands of growths which can properly be called *learnings* only a fraction (shall we estimate 10 per cent?) are ever, in cases of farm, village, or manual working quarter urban, so brought under influence of schools as properly to be called educative?

8. That, historically and sociologically, schools have not and should not be provided to assume responsibilities for *all* kinds of growth nor even for more than a fraction of learnings—but only for those which (*a*) are thought especially necessary, and (*b*) are most unlikely to be learned from other agencies or as results of naturalistic experience with environments.

9. That devotions, even addictions, of ablest men and women, farsightedly viewing the potentialities of their own or another's children, have often tended so to enlarge the seeming importance of school educations (and occasionally of apprenticeship, war inductions, shamanistic controls, domestic preparations for child marriage, etc.) as seriously to interfere not only with processes of natural physical growths, but also even more with developments of naturalistic learnings, socializations, katharsis of non-functional instinctive propensities, etc.

(Note that the educational philosophies of sympathetic-souled reformers from Comenius, Froebel, and Pestalozzi to Dewey, Montesorri, and a host of today's "progressives" have all tried to save children from over artificialization of school learnings and to restore an abundance of naturalistic learnings; but that they, too, tend to fall into errors of "too much school" for children less than 10 years of age, and have become too sentimentally tenderhearted about giving children some solid growth foods of hard physical work—a few hours at a time—and considerable subjection to effort and cold at ages 8 to 18.)

10. That under simple conditions of society it seems often to have been the case that common sense succeeded fairly well in determining what were the most valuable learnings which schools could undertake to produce—swordsmanship and horsemanship, athletic powers for the prospective warriors, an admired old or foreign language for "gentlemen" or "scholars" deriving from a still barbaric or crudely modern culture, literacy and arithmetic for commoners, patriotic devotions for a subjugated or revenge-seeking people, "finishing cultures" for girls expected to marry well, and the like. (Though it was long disputed as to whether literacy for "the common man" would not produce more harm than good—and the much lauded sports devotions of ancient aristocratic Greeks and modern aristocratic Britons have had their fierce opponents who believed that intense adolescent and

young manhood devotions to sports and "cults of body" qualities produce adults with something permanently adolescent in their moral qualities and cultural interests.)

11. That under present-day conditions promoters of school educations become perpetually embarrassed by the very wealth of the social inheritance of "good things which might be learned," and the social and scientific pressures of our day that really functional and really important learnings only shall be set as goals and tasks for our young people. Hence large proportions of the experimental, philosophical, and other studies calculated to improve educations in the near future may be expected to center in efforts to answer amplifications of Herbert Spencer's query "What knowledge is of *most* worth?" expressed thus:

"What knowledge (and skills and attitudes and beliefs and habits and appreciations and ideals)

"Of arithmetic (or music or farming or Greek history or personal hygiene or patriotic devotions to country or current literature)

"Will probably prove of most worth to

a. The brightest sons of farmers,

b. The lowest quarter (in I.Q. of the sons of manual workers),

c. The modal (in musical sensitivities) of the daughters of prosperous urban dwellers,

d. The physically sturdy but mentally submodal daughters of artisans,

"In order that both the educands and their families, nation, economic classes, and cultural communities shall all profit in optimum measure?"

B. Interpreting Personal Experiences

1. By means of a clearly formulated statement, or a series of postulates and hypotheses work out (*a*) the differences between *growths*, which *are* and which *are not learnings*, (*b*) the characteristics of those *growths*, and especially *learnings* which properly belong in *educations*, (*c*) the relations of *teachings* to *learnings*, and (*d*) some procedures by which experts might determine the *most important growths* and *learnings* which should be fostered by schools (taking schools at levels of ages 4–10, or 10–15, or 15–18, or 18–22), using for this problem only the field of *physical welfare*

growths and learnings (personal hygiene, adequate growths of body and all its essential parts, resort to expert medical or sanitary service, etc.) and not disregarding the fact that optimum competency on the part of yourself or any other person in preserving his physical well-being involves (1) much early habituation, (2) acquisition of many attitudes, taboos, ideals, (3) possession of not a few skills, (4) a wide range of appreciations or valuations, etc.

In the process of developing this exposition use your experience to test these miscellaneous suggestions, some probably valid and important, some probably doctrinaire and foolish:

a. Where and how did healthy pre-Columbian Indians *learn* their thousands of *hygienic* practises?

b. How much of your powers of conserving *digestive* health did you *learn* from your schools? How much did you *grow into* as calves do? How much did family custom *assure* you, as among barbarians?

c. A, B, and C are sons of dairy farmers in northern New York state where hills and groves and streams abound. They average four hours daily of "boy helper" work for 360 days per year on the farm. Their local schools provide no *physical training or body developmental* activities. At the ages of 20–60 what shortages will they, or some of them, probably exhibit because of such omissions? What of the others?

d. Under three of the following indicate four *very important* units of learning (or themes or topics) which modern schools should systematically teach, because other sources of learning will probably prove useless or vicious: (1) Eyesight health; (2) digestive health; (3) foot health; (4) sex health; (5) skin health; (6) mouth health; (7) heart health.

e. What forms of *physical growth* can probably be much helped by playground sports for city children, e.g., at ages 8–15? What forms probably very little?

f. Why have callisthenics and gymnastics fallen into disrepute?

g. Do present *spiral* practises of teaching the meagre stock of *personal hygiene* practises and items of knowledge now available tend to bore children after the first five grades?

2. By means of a clearly formulated statement or through a series of "pertinent postulates" and plausible hypotheses work

out (*a*) some varied differences between growths which are and those which are not learnings, (*b*) the outstanding characteristics of those growths, and especially learnings which constitute educations, (*c*) the relations of teachings to learnings, and (*d*) some procedures by which experts might determine the most important learning or non-learning growths which should be fostered by schools (taking schools at levels of ages 4–10, or 10–15, or 15–18, or 18–22)—using for this problem only the field of English language, and distinguishing three I.Q. levels of learners—C best 20 per cent, A lowest 20 per cent, and B modal 60 per cent. (Under "English language" distinguish as types of competencies to be achieved: four under oral expression—pronunciation, syntax, vocabulary, platform speaking; nine under written expression—handwriting, spelling, sentence structure, syntax, typewriting, punctuation (including paragraphing and capitalization), business letter composition, friendly letter composition, essay writing; under oral apprehension, one—meaning-grasp; two under writing and printing apprehension, or silent reading—speed of apprehension and fullness of apprehension; and three under the combined apprehension and expression called "oral reading"—speed of apprehension, clearness of expression, and meaningfulness of expression.

In the course of clarifying your ideas on this subject give consideration to these questions:

a. What are relative responsibilities of schools and other agencies for assuring the learning of ordinary English speech in American stock families?

b. In families of non-English speaking parents?

c. Could you call the processes by which most children between 1 and 3 years of age acquire English speech education? Are parents usually conscious teachers? Is the process expensive?

d. Do schools now succeed at all in improving "conversational oral composition"? Where and how?

e. Is the term "oral composition" not a silly one to use in school courses?

f. Do adults write "compositions"? Why have children to do so?

g. What are actually the objectives of the present "speech training" in schools? For what types or classes of learners especially?

h. Why should not oral reading be discontinued as a required subject beyond grade 3, and opened as an elective to the talented only, in grades 6 to 12? Would any serious losses probably follow? To whom? What kind?

i. The present writer holds that oral reading is a very clumsy, highly ineffectual means of teaching pronunciation, silent reading, vocabulary range, syntax, or literary appreciation. (Your comment.)

3. Prepare a clear statement or a convincing array of "pertinent postulates" or plausible hypotheses designed to exhibit the parts played in producing certain types of vocational competency by, respectively: (*a*) differences of heredity as foundations of nurtural non-learning growths, and learnings; (*b*) nurtural processes for all growths which are not learnings; (*c*) nurtural processes for growths which are learnings; (*d*) and educations, defined as purposeful controls (by self or others) of growths, including learnings, towards previsioned, or custom crystallized ends.

Select for concrete consideration and examples: (*a*) one juvenile or helper vocation—farm boy, grocer's boy, office girl, kitchen slavey, doffer boy—; (*b*) one journeyman, operative, or full adult wage-earning, specialized, supervised vocation—waitress, factory "hand," counter saleswoman, farm "hired man," domestic servant, street car motorman, typist, or city school teacher less than 25 years of age—; and (*c*) one "mastership" vocation (as usually practised after 25 to 40 years of age) involving self-direction, often capital, and often direction of employees—a profession, managing farm, homemaking (with two to five children), merchandising, master craftsman, travelling salesman, mature teacher, etc.

In considering this problem, use your experience in answering these questions:

a. For what vocations (or kinds of vocations) are full operative or mastership training schools usually available?

b. For which are apprenticeship methods (as legalized and systematized) usually available?

c. For which have "followership" methods prevailed (defined as close and friendly progression under superior workers through successive stages towards full competency)?

d. For which have only "pick-up" methods usually been available (defined as "being plunged into," working in squads,

under foremen, without gradation through learning stages—the methods of most mining, factory work, selling, etc.)?

e. Does "high school education" usually offer any significant contribution towards vocational competency? For what vocations? What high school subjects? Does algebra in one case in a thousand so help girls? History studies, boys? Do we educators cherish a host of superstitions here?

f. For what vocations (if any) do four years' "liberal" education as given in most women's colleges (or in men's liberal colleges in universities) give some important preparation? Do all educators cherish a host of superstitions here?

4. Among the most tangible and welfare-affecting behaviors of young and mature human beings are some ten thousand of the kind here to be called moralities—and including some scores or hundreds within such genus-like groupings as honesties, truthfulnesses, chastities, kindlinesses, tolerations, humanenesses, cleanlinesses of speech, decencies of personal deportment, generosities, and others. (Many of us comprehend these qualities best in terms of their shortages or contraries—as dishonesties, deceitfulnesses, unchastities, cruelties, intolerances, cruelties to animals, obscenities of speech, indecencies of deportment, etc.)

The fixations, particular or composite, of dispositions to immoral or moral behaviors are often called "character"—meaning *moral* character of course, *not* the bodily fixations which are physical characteristics, or the specialized vocationally achieved qualities which are vocational character, nor religious character, nor cultural character.

But the social behaviors here segregated do *not* relate at all closely to most *civic behaviors*—man's attitudes and overt behaviors towards laws, lawmaking, law enforcing, patriotic support of the state in trouble, voting, taxpaying, and other large group behaviors.

Moralities—including decencies, vital conventionalities, important orderlinesses, etc.,—are to be thought of primarily as small group social behaviors—within families, between neighbors, in schools, between personal contact employers and employees, between companions and other fellowship associates.

In terms of the growths, learnings, teachings, educations, etc., defined in this section, prepare a convincing analysis, as consecutive statements or as a series of postulates and hypotheses on the topic:

Present Achievements and Still Much Needed Developments of School Educations Towards Superior Moralities

Towards clear thinking consider especially your experiences as answering questions like these:

a. Do the hereditary predispositions of human beings, including those towards fear of group or personal disapproval, towards love of personal approval, and the like, tend to make a thousand specific learnings of approved social behaviors on morality levels an easy thing?

b. Have not children usually learned fairly well some thousands of moralities before ever entering schools?

c. What particular moralities are elementary schools (first six grades) now fairly successful in securing by purposeful teaching and control of growth conditions?

d. What are some kinds of moralities which they now hardly seek to affect at all?

e. Have you or anyone else ever succeeded in teaching "honesty" or "truthfulness" in general—that is, as an omnibus quality?

f. Have you successfully taught particular honesties having effective functioning (against temptations) outside of school?

g. What schools now teach humaneness to animals effectively?

h. Can or do high schools now successfully teach specific forms of approved superior sexal moralities?

i. "The contention is often made that morals cannot be taught directly, but should be taught in connection with each subject." The present writer holds that this statement is silly, and expresses a nearly futile ideal. Comment.

j. How do good homes *teach* moralities? Or do they just "let them grow"?

k. How do playfellows teach each other *their* approved moralities?

l. How do playfellows teach or develop what the elders regard as immoralities?

5. Among the "good things" of life, at least as valued by many fine spirits, are keen and persistent interests in certain things "for their own sake"—that is, *not* because in any way they bring more money, save us from sickness, enable us to help carry on our

governments, foster our necessary moralities, or serve other practical or utilitarian purposes or even religious purposes as commonly felt, but because they stimulate and in turn satisfy certain non-utilitarian appetites, many of which seem in highest degrees human, even spiritual.

These "spiritual cultural" interests—as they will be called here —spring from our desires for music, pictures, imaginative literature, travel, scientific knowledge, play, dramatic representation, and similar intellectual, æsthetic, physical, and other activities.

Every adult has some of these spiritual cultural interests—though in some who have emerged into economic security after bitter struggles with adverse conditions, these interests may be starved and stunted, whilst in others they are needlessly cheap, vulgar, or morbid. But we educators believe that these "spiritual" interests can always be cultivated and refined. We believe that high schools and liberal colleges should especially promote the more exalted types or degrees of these interests so as manifestly to enrich the culture of our time and that of generations to come.

How do these "spiritual cultural" achievements come? A child at birth has none. Will his heredity affect his acquisitions later? His family environment? His city or rural environment? His companions in his work?

Take the title: *The development of a personality of superior spiritual culture.*

Prepare a well analyzed statement or a series of plausible hypotheses and pertinent postulates bearing on the *growths*, the *learnings*, the *teachings*, the *educations* which in your own case, or in cases (A, M, W) known to you, seem to have produced the superiorities or shortages of at least ten kinds of spiritual culture which seem in the personality studied to be most significant to you.

Take into account what seem to you probably right answers to these questions:

a. Can schools *teach* culture—e.g., in literature?

b. Is not most culture acquired in adult years—the schools having given, perhaps, some tools for its acquisition?

c. What is meant by the comment: "She has a cultured voice"?

d. In what respects does it seem to you that the culture of the usual American village is backward?

e. Are the "movies" and the "talkies" contributing to American culture? Are they elevating it?

f. What do you think of the "literary culture" of most American women school teachers at 20 to 30 years of age?

g. Do most of these teachers derive from fairly well cultured homes?

h. What is your opinion of the present state of musical culture in the United States?

C. Some Ground-Clearing Postulates and Plausible Hypotheses

1. The growths of individual human beings from the cradle to the grave—including "growing smaller" or weaker or worse—can be counted by millions—in kinds or degrees.

2. All growths take place by virtue of qualities evolving from within the individual—glandular activities, drives, impulses, instincts, appetites, desires, predispositions, plasticities, docilities, curiosities, imitativenesses, suggestibilities, socialities, etc.

3. But all growths also take place by virtue of things coming into the individual from without—air, food, shelter, human example, puzzling conditions to be understood, materials inviting manipulation, sights to be seen, sounds to be heard, human beings to be feared or desired, problems to be solved, beautiful things to be appreciated, books to be read, vocations to be succeeded in, honors to be won, etc. "Without appropriate vocal organs and brain centers no speech would be learned; but even with these, but without English or other speech to be imitated, no speech would be learned."

4. Of the growths which can properly be called learnings, we can distinguish hundreds of thousands in human beings beyond 5 years of age (and thousands in foxes, hens, and elephants as well). Learnings, casual or purposed, important or unimportant, are taking place almost constantly in waking hours from infancy to late senility.

5. Some learnings take place from direct contact of individual human beings with cats or trees or stars or lightning or machines. But perhaps *90 per cent* of all learnings come directly from other

humans—from their examples, their tellings, their frowns, their commands, their leadings—or else indirectly from their writings, their told-of examples, their bequests, their transmitted teachings.

6. Nearly all persons between 5 and 18 years of age learn many and varied things—information, habits, attitudes, moral behaviors—from persons of nearly their same age—some of which learnings may be harmful, many nearly useless, and large proportions acquired "joyfully." But few of these learnings accrue from purposeful *teaching*.

7. Large proportions of adults *learn* many and varied things—and especially knowledge, attitudes, beliefs, and appreciations (including much that settles into *valuation attitudes*)—from newspapers, moving pictures, travel, and other impersonal sources, back of which may have been no conscious intention to *teach* or *educate*, but only to "sell goods."

8. Large proportions of adults *learn* much from billboards, political speeches, sectarian journals, sermons, and some moving pictures, promoted by persons who strongly desire to *teach* something—selfishly or altruistically, nobly or ignobly. (Should we call all this education? Certainly if so it should have a special label—"propagandistic education," perhaps?)

9. Children *learn* all the simpler oral phases of the mother tongue from parents and other intimate household members. Only occasionally do parents and the others plan or intend in any conscious way to teach their children vernacular speech. In the same naïve, imitative ways children learn in household life thousands of hygienic practises, thousands of morality behaviors, tens of thousands of items of everyday knowledge, hundreds of the kinds of beliefs which are essentially religious. (Should these *learning* processes, where there is so little of purposed teaching, be called "educations"?)

10. From 5 to 15 years children learn thousands of moral behaviors from their extra-household, play place associates—not a few of which are "bad" behaviors, including corrupting personal habits, evil producing speech, debasing superstitions, etc. Some of these are consciously *taught* by perverted elders, mischief-making leaders, already degenerated sophisticates. (Shall we call these processes educative—and then apply special labels to distinguish "corrupting" from "ennobling" educations?)

11. Historically, the term "education" has always carried strong implications of *purposiveness*, and of purposiveness to *useful* or *good* ends. It has always connoted "drawing out," "leading forth"—but all wise persons have known that strength from within can only come from food from without, that one only knows from within what one has learned from without, that no *expression* is possible except as *impression* has previously taken place.

12. Wise parents and other elders (acting as educators in a broad sense) have for hundreds of thousands of years at least sought more or less consciously and in light of long evolved customs to *affect* towards foreseen ends of excellence of one kind or another, some of the *non-learning growths*, and large proportions of the *learning growths* of their children. To this end they have surrounded them, and to the utmost in the first two years, with protections, right foods, friendly companions, etc. They have tried to keep them from sources of "bad" example, corrupting ideas, harmful beliefs, dangerous places, hurtful occupations—always using the best of their own valuations in judging. They have believed that "evil associations corrupt good manners." They have "warded off" harmful impressions, as they have "warded off" decayed foods, dangerous wolves, playing around deep waters, or fire or cliffs, and possible infections from germs. (Should we include all of these controls of growth-affecting, impression-giving conditions, whether intelligently conscious or followed half-consciously in obedience to custom, among educations?)

13. Next our wise elders set out to create, to develop controls and agencies of best growths, and especially of best learnings, *artificially*. They undertook to *teach* children correct syntax and approved religious beliefs. They provided wholesome toys and foods and play places, free from contaminating factors. They provided schools and organized apprenticeships. They promoted summer camp and scouting and private dancing and clubs and vocation-teaching schools. Educational agencies, extensive and varied, now appear, not only to direct and control, but also to enhance, to render *most* efficient for foreseen ends, growths, to some extent non-learning, but to an overwhelming extent, the learning growths.

14. And of course at times these ambitious elders have overdone the job—that is, have overworked the learners, over-artificialized the examples and other sources of learning, done violence to the deep-rooted, hereditary, child-nature of 1 to 4, or 6 to 10, or 12 to 15 years of age, or adolescence, or even early adulthood.

15. Is education, then, all customary or conscious, purposeful control of growth processes, and especially learning processes, towards foreseen or planned ends of supposedly worth while achievements, partly for the individuals themselves, and partly for their future societies?

CHAPTER IV

BASIC FACTORS OR SOURCES OF EUDEMIC (POPULAR, WIDESPREAD) WELL-BEING

A. From Societies Serving Men to Men Conserving and Advancing Societies

In order that a people—e.g., all Americans—may keep themselves over a long series of years prosperous, good (to themselves and to others), happy, and progressive, when nearly 2 per cent of their numbers die each year and are replaced by as many or more who have come up from infancy mainly in this country, there is required:

1. CONSTANT REGENERATION AND AT LEAST MODERATE PROGENERATION OF GOOD SOCIETIES (WELL-BEING PRODUCING) IN LARGE PROPORTIONS AND BAD SOCIETIES IN SMALL PROPORTIONS, SUCH AS:

1.1. Good political societies, such as:

1.11. A good nation (e.g., 120,000,000 people well organized, represented, and served by expert agents for defence, promotion of order and justice, conduct of federal public works, and with relatively little sedition, corruption, inefficiency, etc.).

1.12. Many good states or provinces (and only a few poor ones) efficient in administering justice, executing public works (including many kinds of public education).

1.13. Large proportions of efficient counties and cities, towns and districts, and other agencies to discharge local political functions.

1.2. Also many good and few bad non-political local and federate communities in comprehending and collectively discharging the diminishing functions left to them as political communities increase their functions, as for example:

1.21. Rural neighborhood communities.

1.22. Urban neighborhood communities (functioning mostly for children now?).

1.23. Racial, or cultural, or other aggregates (few can be discerned probably) functioning usefully along community lines.

1.3. Also large proportions of eugenically, economically, educationally, and morally wholesome families (with relatively small proportions of celibacy, sterility, subnormal fecundity, excess fecundity, out-working motherhood, disintegrations of familial cooperations, etc.) among the hereditarily and healthfully superior stocks, with as much obligatory celibacy or sterility or subnormal fecundity as sentiment-makers, popular educative valuations, and legislation can enforce among hereditarily, economically, morally, and culturally inferior or retarded individuals.

1.4. Also widely prevalent readiness of large proportions of well meaning adults to form, and frequently to reform, political parties and scores of other types of more or less voluntary "self-starting" and concretely functional civic organizations.

1.5. Also good economic groupings (with heavy coercions of law and collective sentiment directed against predatory, monopolistic, inefficient, and other non-eudemic organizations) severally distinguishable as:

1.51. Good economic productive organizations—corporations, partnerships, legalized associations for marketing or other particular functionings, etc.

1.52. Good trading and transporting organizations.

1.53. Good capital-storing and capital-distributing organizations—banks, insurance companies, investment corporations, etc.

1.54. Good utilizing or sumptuary cooperations, buying, spending, consuming, etc.

1.6. Also good culture-accumulating and transmitting cooperations—including schools, press, libraries, drama, and agencies of voluntary cooperative cultural enhancement.

1.7. Also good religion-forming and worshipping cooperation.

1.8. And many other of the institutional agencies which man evolves in order on large scales and over the generations to have "life more abundantly."

2. THROUGH USE OF THE NATURAL INHERITANCES OF:

2.1. This earth's gravity, climates, soils, airs, minerals, etc.

2.2. This earth's flora, separately to be evaluated as:

2.21. That in the wild or natural state—forests and seeds and roots and grasses, and

2.22. That which has proven domesticable—as grains and fruits and vegetables and nut trees and flowers.

2.3. This earth's fauna, separately to be evaluated as:

2.31. The wild, feral or natural fish, mammals, birds, insects, and microörganic life, and

2.32. The domesticable animals of food, burden-bearing, defense, and other help.

2.4. And not least nature's bequest of man's hereditary powers —including especially his expanded and diversely functioning brain, his upright posture, his speech organs, his flexibly-functioning hand, his peculiar combination of highly social and highly individualistic impulses, his unexplained religious and æsthetic responsiveness, etc.

3. AND THROUGH USE OF MAN'S SOCIAL INHERITANCE OF:

3.1. Speech, language, alphabets, radio, and other means of communicating, recording, and, by symbols, reinforcing (thinking, research) ideas, sentiments, aspirations, and other non-material products—these social inheritance mechanisms now including radio, Esperanto, intelligence tests, musical notations, journals, etc.

3.2. Customs, conventions, moralities, taboos, mores—all designed to standardize for harmony and other cooperative efficiencies the social behaviors of dress and food, division of labor and property rights, relations of sexes and of old and young, relations to animals and to mysterious phases of nature, time for work and time for play, etc.

3.3. Documented laws, constitutions, ordinances, treaties, contracts, licenses, codes, ethical principles, titles, etc.

3.4. Tools, weapons, machines, domesticated animals and plants, fire, chemistry, metal working, controls of pests, buildings, vehicles, power machines, explosives, etc.

3.5. Ancient arts, now tending to become scientific processes— of capturing game, controlling plant life, healing or preventing disease, harnessing natural forces, educating children, making

fabrics, working metals, exploring the heavens, navigating the seas, evolving fruits, and otherwise controlling natural processes to human ends.

3.6. Lore of knowledge, imagination, prophecy, and in our days multiplying kinds and amounts of natural, mental and social science materials—all stored in literatures, fine art products, histories, technical records, etc.

3.7. Social mechanisms or institutions, fostered by laws and customs—governments, schools, churches, marriage, property, creeds, voting, corporations, etc.

3.8. The religions or religious systems of men, always tending, wisely or unwisely, to translate the wills of postulated deities into guides and controls of human action.

3.9. Stored wealth capable of being transformed into tools and other means of providing more wealth, security, beauty, science, and the other goods of life.

3.91. And other forms of the social inheritance, the culture accumulations, of mankind.

4. ALL THE ABOVE-MENTIONED LIVING SOCIETIES AND THEIR USES OF THEIR INHERITANCES NATURAL AND SOCIAL DERIVE FROM GOOD MEN AND WOMEN IN LARGE PROPORTIONS (LEAVING ONLY SMALL PROPORTIONS OF CRIMINAL, LAZY, DISEASED, IMMORAL, SELFISH, IGNORANT, SUPERSTITIOUS, DISSIPATED, ETC.) THAT IS, LARGE PROPORTIONS OF MEN AND WOMEN:

4.1. Who have dispositions and abilities to do much productive work, as farmers, hunters, defenders, teachers, miners, traders, carriers, writers, researchers, moral leaders, mothers, explorers, artists, etc.

4.2. Who have dispositions and abilities to form and preserve wholesome families so large and so small as best to equalize responsibilities of child rearing, of slightly increasing the eugenically sound, of slowly reducing the eugenically unsound, and of giving largest proportions of offspring optimum "starts in life."

4.3. Who have acquired dispositions and insights to carry on frictionlessly largest practicable amounts of cooperations and

tolerations without expensive aids of governmental, corporation, and other formalized agencies of control.

4.4. Who have acquired insights and motivations making for optimum practicable political cooperations:

4.41. Of conformist kinds very widely—obedience to laws, abstention from crime and public vice, payment of taxes, etc.;

4.42. And of dynamic kinds, as zealous leadership and keen followership with constant quest for more knowledge—for voting, holding political office, promoting and reforming political sentiment and opinion, initiating lawful reforms or, in drastic need, rebellions, inducing or coercing others to live up to their political obligations, etc.

4.5. Who will not only strive to elevate sumptuary standards of living, but will as part of the larger process save some wealth for old age, for dependents, for social capital increment, as investments, insurance, etc.

4.6. Who are able and disposed to make much use in their lives of the "spirital" products of men—the more beautiful or otherwise elevating literatures, music, and other fine arts, science "for its own sake," travel and histories, friendships, and the like.

4.7. Who are able and disposed to elevate their finer humanity by use of their beliefs in supermundane beings, in the post-mortal life of men, and in the higher social behaviors inspired by these beliefs, all of which constitute particular religious systems.

4.8. And who are so committed to ideals and expectations of "progress" that they ceaselessly believe in, and devote some of their energies to supporting, ten thousand possible movements to lessen evils now felt, to extend goods now partly developed, and to make of civilization a progressively better means of ministering to "life more abundantly," to the bringing of the "kingdom of God" to earth.

5. BUT MEN AND WOMEN OF SUCH GOOD WILLS AND ABILITIES IN THEIR MATURE YEARS DERIVE FROM YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN WHO, IN LARGE PROPORTIONS AT AGES 20 TO 30, HAVE:

5.1. More or less "found themselves" vocationally, and been trained for some one field of work.

5.2. Entered upon, or prepared to enter upon, marriage with

some sense of its burdens and responsibilities as well as of its opportunities and fulfillments.

5.3. Formed fairly clear conceptions of the obligations and values of cooperative democratic government.

5.4. Considerably "settled for themselves" the troublesome moral and religious problems of their time.

5.5. And are steadily putting away "childish things" and are steadily practising along several useful lines "self-education" as against the "alter-education" of earlier years.

6. BUT YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN OF GOOD EQUIPMENT FOR ADULT RESPONSIBILITIES USUALLY DERIVE FROM YOUTHS WHO AT AGES 15 TO 20 IN LARGE PROPORTIONS:

6.1. Have been induced, or in extreme cases, been coerced:

6.11. To foster and expand such of their innate propensities or acquired dispositions as scientific eudemics indicate to be of large potential personal and social value—e.g., wholesome adventure, competition and exploration, widely varied bodily development, varied band formation, informal associations with opposite sex, varied experience in sampling productive work, varied stimulation and satisfaction of intellectual and æsthetic interests, etc.

6.12. To keep under strict discipline in order to prevent formation of unwholesome addictions, innate propensities or acquired dispositions, especially active in the adolescent, towards activities once probably valuable but no longer valuable, towards personal combat, individual self-centeredness, promiscuous sexality, prolonged periods of indolence interspersed with sporadic work of much intensity, vagrancy, pillage, herdism (or gangism and coterieism), etc., (all largely the heritages of our racial ten thousand centuries of "pack" living in paleolithic times).

6.13. To devote from fifteen hundred to twenty-five hundred hours per year to the strenuous or "workful" acquisition of systematized learnings of probably large deferred or future value towards proficiencies in health conservation, civilized social cooperations, personal culture, and vocational production—with recognition of the needs growing out of modern conditions that concentration on acquisition of vocational competencies will

necessarily be the latest stage (beginning rarely at the age of 16, not commonly at 17, and mostly at 18–25 in the future)—and involving further recognition that school "alter-given" educations will increasingly be designed to equip for self-educations—self-teachings, self-directed learnings—later.

6.2. Have been able to live normally in parental family environments but with such progressive detachment from their controls as will assure harmonious, nearly full, separations at outset of self-supporting independent life.

7. BUT YOUTHS CAPABLE OF SUCH PROFITING EDUCATIONALLY DERIVE USUALLY FROM CHILDREN WHO AT AGES 10–15 IN LARGE PROPORTIONS:

7.1. Have been physically, morally, and culturally nurtured in wholesome household life, usually as provided by a normal family group, with father as competent out-worker and mother making the care of her children and their home her vocation.

7.2. Have been enabled to the extent of from five to fifteen hundred hours per year to profit from the highly developmental "play"activities, supplementing those of household and neighborhood, provided by commercial or public agencies—moving pictures, well equipped playgrounds, excursions, libraries, explorations, pageants, "developmental" shop work, gardening, readings, and games in schools, etc.

7.3. Have been required to the extent of from six to sixteen hundred hours per year to share in varied "productive work"—preferably of primitive and largely manual types, not primarily for sake of production or for preparation for vocational specialization, but for wholesome and full physical (and especially "endurance sustaining") growths, democratic morale, economic appreciations, and realistic cultures.

7.4. Have been required to devote from six to twelve hundred hours per year to systematic, work-like acquisition of learnings, most of them of "deferred functioning" values, usually under teachers, and always under educative purposings, towards cultural (including linguistic), civic, and other social, and health conserving valuations—that is, nearly all values except the vocational,

which under present-day conditions must be acquired on the eve of maturity.

8. BUT CHILDREN WHO AT AGES 10–15 CAN PROFITABLY THUS BE NURTURED AND EDUCATED USUALLY DERIVE FROM CHILDREN WHO FROM BIRTH TO AGE 10 IN LARGE PROPORTIONS:

8.1. Have derived at the outset from parents of good heredity.

8.2. Have been nurtured in normal households maintained by affectionately cooperating parents of whom:

8.21. The father, as out-worker, provides ample economic support of "earned" kinds;

8.22. The mother, as in-worker, devotes her time to such economic production (not "gainful" usually, but rather "household elaborative") as permits her to give much time to the nurture and simple non-school educations of her children.

8.3. Have been the beneficiaries of a variety of the specialized protective and nurtural services provided by civilized societies—inspection of foods, medical examinations, hospital service for extreme cases, wholesome play places, moderate exposures to sun and cold, very simple clothing.

8.4. Have had available in the 10 to 30 per cent of cases (by 1930 American standards) where household nurtures and educations "fall short" such supplemental agencies as nursery schools, kindergartens (usually operative during only pleasantest hours of twenty-four, usually only five days per week, and usually only thirty-eight pleasantest weeks per year!) and the like to "compensate" for defective household nurtures and educations.

8.5. Have had available also elementary schools for that probably diminishing proportion of all children for whom it may still seem important to provide schools either to supplement developmental education of household and play place or to provide beginnings of systematic training in school arts—reading, writing, adding—or school knowledge—factual geography, etc.

B. Classifications of Social Values as Means to Determination of Useful Classes of Educational Values: Some Preliminary Suggestions

1. A *social value* or *eudemic value* is something good for large numbers of human beings, either directly (e.g., spelling, some

things of simple hygiene) or, indirectly, through the powers of a few (e.g., dentistry, political leadership, etc.).

2. An *educational value* is something to be achieved by *educational means* which will produce one or more *social values* (e.g., lifelong abilities to spell needed words are social values; and the lessons, training processes which produce such abilities are educational values—that is, valuable educational means.

3. Custom and invention have given the field of *educational practise* many hundreds of fairly distinct species of supposed *educational values* or valuable means—e.g., spelling, algebra, dancing, Greek history, Spanish, grammar, nature study, manual arts, medical education, fairy stories, kindergarten games, etc.

4. On the other hand, the evolution of civilized societies, begun long before schools were specialized, has produced thousands of fairly homogeneous groupings of *social values*, e.g.:

a. The village, clan, or state which contains many men who are skilled in farming or trades, who can defend against foreign enemies, who can keep their health, who do not practise crime, who will deal repressively with crime, who love to read good books, who hold ennobling religious beliefs, who make good men out of their children, etc. (Each of these categories can give rise to an abstracted class of qualities which in certain *optimum measures* are *social values*, e.g., vocational powers, soldierly prowess, health conserving powers, etc.)

b. The community which is served by a few but much needed dentists, wheat-growers, poets, military leaders, genuine political reformers, inventors, artists, inspired religious leaders, etc.

c. Possession by communities (local, provincial, national, or international) of evolved and usefully functioning *agencies* of one or another type of social good (e.g., for the *repression* of crime, the *prevention* of crime, the *fostering* of religion, the *transport* of *exchanged* commodities, the *storage* and *redistribution* of capital, the *improvement* of agriculture, the *prevention* of war, the *encouragement* of the writing of good poetry, the *parental-substitute care* of poorly parented children, the *origination* of good music, etc.).

d. Dozens of other types of classifications can readily be devised.

5. Because *educational values* are commonly *means* to *social values*, it may easily happen:

a. That one type of educational value may be a means successively to several types of social values (e.g., handwriting may frequently be a means to general spirital cultural values; occasionally a means to vocational values; and rarely a means to health conserving, to civic, and to special spirital cultural values).

b. That *custom* has failed to keep alive conceptions of the *social values* which particular *educational values* were once supposed to conserve—e.g., algebra, Latin, gymnastics (for military service), English grammar (for an élite), factual geography, etc.

c. That aspirational ideas have been perpetuated as to *once believed connections* between educational offerings and social values (e.g., that literacy would prevent crime, that knowledge of physiology would lead to hygiene or moral behaviors, etc.).

6. The heredity of a child—potentialities of size, shape, sense reactions, hairlessness, food requirements, large brain, potential sex traits, motilities, as well as probably strong predispositions to erectness of posture, speech, abstract thinking, intense curiosities, and curious balancings of sociability and individuality—have been infixed in our species by, probably several hundred, if not some thousands, of millennia of selective evolution and "survival of the best adapted."

Factors of civilization and a large proportion of immediately preceding barbarisms—marriage, organized war, tillage industry, specialized manufacture, submission to written laws, reading, wage earning, employing, mathematical reckoning, cooked foods, clothes wearing, house living, school going, and the like—are, on the other hand, relatively modern things which have probably not yet had time to operate in more than very slight degree selectively on our species in such a way as to change hereditary basic traits. Very few of the artificial conditions of civilization have been with our ancestral stocks for more, perhaps, than one hundred to two hundred centuries.

7. Schools are among the artificially man-made agencies to assist children to make the most of themselves—primarily for adult functioning—under conditions of civilization.

But nature—that is, the hereditary nature of our species—imposes drastic limitations upon the speed and extent to which we can civilize the members—and especially the young—of our species. Apparently any child needs to live largely as have

children for a million years—creeping, babbling, handling, running, crying, playing, sleeping, curiosity-satisfying, sports-pursuing, adventure-hearing, experimenting—if he is to have a good basis for the artificial workings, parentings, studyings, self-controls, toilings, sacrificings of adult years.

On the other hand, the requirements of civilized living and working—grammatical speech, reading, historical knowledge, a trade, civic cooperations, right ideals of sex relations, worshipful attitudes towards postulated deities, appreciations of man-made arts, respect for man-made laws—cannot profitably have their acquisition deferred entirely until adult or late adolescent years.

8. Hence all wise controls of the sum total of the growth processes of children—including all the directed learnings and other growths which we can educate, as operated by parents, schoolmen employers, and other farsighted influencers—must constantly seek optimum combinations of conditions making on the one hand for fullest *natural* growths, along lines helpful and not hindering to civilized living, and on the other for very purposive adaptations to essential participations in civilized societies.

a. Probably relative emphasis on these two types of growth controls will vary greatly at different ages. For example:

(1) It may be best that a child of 2 years of age should spend most of his waking time making growths not greatly different from those of a similar child fifty thousand years ago—that is, in eating, babbling, very simple playing, enjoying very simple companionship, getting much sun and some mild cold, much unconstrained running, much simple new experience with digging, handling, plucking plants, dabbling in water, pushing movables, etc.

Perhaps he should be *trained* only not to tear books, resist eating, cry unreasonably, etc.—regularities mostly, and a few taboos.

(2) On the other hand it may be best that a 16-year-old should spend two-thirds of his waking hours in productive work or the preparatory work which we call study, in practising conformities of speech, social behaviors, self-restraints and the like which we call civilized—and which may easily *irk* or prove hard for individual propensities. For such a person and his place in his societies it may be best that he should spend not more than

one-third of his time in plays, romancings, courtship, ease-takings, and other relatively naturalistic activities.

9. The ancient hereditary potentialities of children manifest themselves as easily aroused desires, appreciations, propensities, predispositions, inclinations, bents, biases, prepotencies, aptitudes, tendencies, which, if not instinct-based, at least correlate closely with qualities of nervous constitution analogous to docilities in animals or other hereditary readinesses or plasticities.

These easily aroused predispositions take such well known directions as big muscle play, eagerness to creep and walk, longings for manipulative activities, imitativeness, desires to speak, "tell me a story," and uncounted others.

But in large part, the concrete manifestations of these will be heavily affected by environmental conditions. If there are stairways and no cliffs, big muscle climbing will use the stairs. Speech copies after that of elders. If there are few wild animals to be curious about, curiosities will turn towards environing machines, household processes, or the actions of elders.

Hence to a degree we can say that the child growing up in the midst of civilized activities and conditions will assimilate himself to such civilized conditions in default of any other—that is, never hearing ungrammatical speech, he will be grammatical imitatively. But this assimilative process is surely limited by obscure factors of the intricacy, the artificiality of each civilized process. Chase after game has been a human occupation for perhaps millions of years. But civilized tillage is of yesterday. It is probable that boys of *deep* predispositions to learn much and long of chase after game have little predisposition to learn of the arduousness of tillage.

CHAPTER V

CLASSIFICATIONS OF KINDS OF EUDEMIC WELL-BEING (OR SOCIAL VALUES) TO SERVE AS FOUNDATIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL VALUES

A. What We All Know

1. Each one of us, in surveying a given individual, e.g., M, a man 30 years old, could readily provide some scores of evaluative terms describing his approved qualities. M is: literate, healthy, patriotic, industrious, law-abiding, temperate, well informed, thrifty, generous, reverent, charitable, public-spirited, resolute, clear-headed, artistic, conjugally loyal, parentally affectionate, religiously tolerant, sociable, etc.

2. Likewise in surveying a village or other community it is our habitual practise to make evaluating judgments. For example town F has exceptionally large proportions of persons who are (or the town is prevailingly): well educated, good church members, superior citizens in a political sense, possessed of good health, competent workers, good parents to their children, ready to make great sacrifices for their country in case of need, zealous for the community welfare, thrifty and prosperous, well travelled, and the like.

3. When we say of a man "he is temperate" or "healthy" or "industrious" we really imply that he is more than ordinarily temperate, healthy, etc., since all persons are somewhat temperate, or healthy—in other words we are referring to measures or degrees of these qualities. Similarly, when we speak of a town as being moral or clean or attractive we are implying superior degrees of these qualities, or the presence of exceptional numbers of community members having these qualities since *all* communities are *somewhat* moral or clean or attractive.

4. It is important, too, for the student of social values to recognize that such omnibus evaluating terms as "health," "morality," "culture," and the like, will often prove too composite for accurate use. A man may have perfect health of heart and poor

health of teeth. He may be very moral in his domestic relations and very immoral in his business relations. We often meet men of superior literary culture and inferior musical culture—superior and inferior, of course, by implied average or modal standards.

5. The importance of these considerations appears when one tries to connect the values of particular kinds of educations with their expected outcomes. Surely the kinds of instruction and training which will forearm young persons against the pathogenic bacteria often conveyed in food or drink will prove of no significance in preparing them to keep their feet or eyes in "healthful" condition. Surely the educative processes which might lead adolescents to possess superior cultural interests in good English poetry will contribute nothing to the vocational competencies of prospective carpenters or stenographers. Surely the kinds of education which at 15 years of age would materially inspire with patriotic or other civic ideals would contribute nothing to hygienic behaviors.

6. Perhaps current educational theory tends to express its purposes in excessively generalized aims—to teach "health," to "socialize," to make "cultured." Even at best schools can "teach" means of preventing only 2 or 3 per cent of the diseases which afflict at least some men. Which shall these be? At best we can teach only 1 or 2 per cent of Asiatic map locational facts —which shall they be? Out of hundreds of possible vocations it is practicable to teach only one or two to Henry Brown. Which shall that or those be?

7. Practical men often think of objectives of particular kinds of educations in fairly direct relation to supposed social values. "I want my boy taught swordsmanship, horseback riding, how to write a business letter, to dance the modern dances, how to avoid malaria." Their wives perhaps ask that their daughters be taught: how to cook, to play the piano, to do typewriting, to keep their digestions sound, to behave well and easily in "society."

8. Practical men, however, also tend often to set up omnibus and probably Utopian objectives for schools: "Teach boys to be honest, to think, to love their country, to be resolute, to have courage, to be loyal, to love learning for its own sake, to respect women, to fear God, to take 'their own part,' to be accurate." Can these things be realized as wholes? Can you think? Are

you loyal? Are you accurate? You possess species of these generic virtues—perhaps you have several species. How many bricks make a wall? Three or a million? Who has all bricks?

9. *Natural growths* of uncounted kinds are no less characteristic of human beings than of other organisms. Those kinds of growths which can be called *learnings*, though characteristic of many species, and especially of vertebrate species, seem especially profuse in the primates, and enormously profuse in *homo sapiens*. But *teaching*—providing example, training, instructing—seems rare among subhuman species; whilst *education*—here defined as *purposeful* directions or controls of learnings (including, of course, teachings) towards *foreseen ends* valued in group custom or individual consciousness—prevails, if at all, only in rudimentary forms in species other than man.

10. *Arts* of controlling, directing, and enforcing learnings purposefully—including all teachings, as training, instruction, example setting and the like—are certainly very old in the human species; probably contemporaneous with the prolongation of infancy, enlargement of brain and use of speech which had probably considerably evolved some millions of years ago.

11. Most of these ancient *arts* of education consisted largely of simple guidance and enforcement of learnings closely analogous to those everywhere to be seen today in relations of parents to children, older children to younger, news bringers to local groups, employers and foremen to new employees, master to servant, etc. These were heavily based upon the predispositions or instinctive readinesses of all older persons to tell, caution, direct, order, boss younger persons; to expect them as they mature to help, to avoid dangers, to do as they are told. Even among adults, the more experienced or better informed in any connection, are eager to tell, to show, to lead, the less experienced.

12. But even among very primitive societies as now existing and, we have every reason for believing, as they anciently existed, some educations became highly systematized, embedded in custom and tradition, administered at great cost of time and suffering, and fiercely compelled by group sentiment. Conspicuously was that the case with educations climaxing in: initiations; community pageants; religious and rank ceremonials; and apprentice-

ship for war, shamanisms (religious or "medicine men" leadership), magic, "mystery" trades, etc.

13. Civilizations bring conscious philosophizings about educations—as about the stars, the gods, floods, sickness, animal migrations, political cooperations, aristocracies, enslavements, heredity, and the like. The assemblages of undisputed (though often only implicit) assumptions (postulates), hypotheses (theories), tentative interpretations, valuations, and aspirations composing any "popular philosophy" or body of public opinion or composite of social beliefs and attitudes (and much "unwritten law") may be completely undocumented and not even very articulate among leaders, but still constitute very vital systems of collective guidance. But, from time to time, crystallization, even documentation, may be given to portions of these compositely held philosophies—religious, political, sex-relationship, war-inciting, economic, or other formulations. Ancient scriptures often consist largely of these. For good examples of *educational* philosophizings read various sections of the *Book of Proverbs*.

Probably these *conscious* philosophizings or rationalizings usually have little effect upon *household*, *guild*, and other *small group educational arts*, the basic valuations, administrations and methods of which are deeply ingrained in customary or traditional practises. But as schools or other specialized educative agencies appear, *theories* of educational values, support, organization, teaching methods, selected personnel, and the like seem to play rôles of accumulating importance.

B. A Sample Problem of Analyzing Social (and a Few Largely Personal) Values Towards Finding Educational Values

1. What are some five to ten groupings or classifications which you can make of those "valuable" things for persons or communities which have to do fairly directly with promoting and conserving *physical*, that is, *bodily* well-being? Proceed to develop your classifications after considering answers out of your own experience to such queries and statements as these:

a. Indicate ten types of personal hygienic practise that parents usually try strenuously to teach their children between ages 2 and 5.

b. What are ten kinds of diseases or injuries which well

informed or well trained children from 10 to 15 years of age can do something on their own account to prevent or cure—as personal hygiene? (As helps towards inductive thinking it might be well separately to consider eye-health, mouth-health, foot-health, digestive-health, heart-health, sex-health, skin-health, infection sources, vehicle collision sources, snake-bite sources, drowning sources, falls sources, poison sources, etc.)

c. What are ten kinds of diseases or injuries which cannot practically be prevented or cured through even well formed personal knowledge or good training at these ages?

d. What are ten types of apparent sickness or bodily malfunctioning for the cure of which well informed or well trained persons try promptly to have recourse to specialist service?

e. Repeat (*d*) but have in mind ten types for which resort to specialist service will be had primarily for prevention.

f. Repeat (*d*) but have in mind ten types for which resort will be had primarily for diagnosis and corrective preventive procedures.

g. What are ten types of sickness of ourselves or others which can be prevented usually only by local collective procedures—municipal, town, etc.?

h. Same as (*g*) but only by federal or national collective procedures?

2. Bodily vigor (including resistive powers towards some diseases, weaknesses, or accidents) is promoted by right uses of foods, sleeping, work, ventilation, recreation, dressing, sheltering, heating (and colding?), posturing, breathing, straining, resting. In each of these departments we all know many of these "right" practises *qualitatively*, but we do not know, or we do not practise right *measures*—that is, right *amounts* based on reliable guidance as to "how much is enough or optimum." This, too, becomes for our generation an area of innumerable fads, obsessions, follies—some backed for a time by seemingly competent expert authority. Out of your experience be prepared to answer somewhat these statements:

a. Under "use of air" indicate five respects in which prevailing practises of all but wisest 10 to 20 per cent of parents are "short," "wrong," or defective by best of current authority.

b. Under "posture" indicate five respects in which practises of less well parented 60 per cent of children may lay foundations for diminished vigor or disease breeding in youth or adulthood.

c. Under "sleep" a somewhat similar analysis.

d. Same, under "clothing," or "dressing."

e. Same, under "breathing."

f. Same, under "straining"—exceptional exertion, either in intensity or duration.

g. Same, under "sheltering."

h. Same, under "heating and colding."

i. Under "sex" indicate five respects in which least well prepared 60 per cent of all boys at ages 10–16 may pursue unhygienic practises or need safeguardings. (Do not confuse healths and moralities.)

j. Repeat (*i*) for girls of same ages.

C. Some Hypotheses as to Serviceably Homogeneous Classifications of Social Values for Educational Foundations

1. The "useful powers," "valuable knowledges," "helpful habits," "effective skills," "worth while cultures," "social harmony promoting attitudes," "refined tastes," and the like which enter into the composition of a well civilized man or woman can easily be counted in the thousands—e.g., being *able* to multiply correctly, *knowing* that typhoid may be contracted from even clear water from unknown sources, *taking pleasure* from good recent novels, being so competent a *performer* in a particular vocation that one's services are eagerly sought and well paid for, being *disposed* on the approach of an election to take an active interest in some public matter and to use opinion promoting and voting privileges to enhance political welfare, being *trained* in writing clear business letters if need arises—these and thousands of others of like nature could readily be named.

2. *Specialization of functioning* plays constantly increasing rôles in modern collective action, hence we must constantly distinguish between the qualities desirable in *some* persons in communities, and those desirable in *all*. A given community *needs* greatly that one or more persons shall be skilled dentists, inspiring preachers, competent carpenters. Within conjugal pairs men usually specialize in some species of out-work, women in scores of home-maintaining and child-caring arts. Though education does not yet clearly see the implications of differences of *intelligence abilities* and *civic attitudes*, practical men everywhere have learned to

expect different *grades*, if not different *kinds*, of cooperative government-conducting service from young and mature, from those of high, and those of low, intelligence, from followers of different vocations, etc. Sooner or later we must recognize, too, that the best cultured community is made up of individuals who *vary greatly* in their personal cultural interests, tastes, accomplishments.

3. The most tangible and best standardized eudemic values in modern life are *vocational competencies*. But since elementary schools are not, or should not, be expected to contribute to these, and since junior and senior high schools can at best make only weak and uncertain contributions to fewer than 1 per cent of vocations, these values can be the direct concern of very few teachers of (vocationally) unspecialized public schools.

But the student of social values should note how many of us feel ourselves to be fairly well qualified judges as between competent and incompetent: cooks, tailors, car drivers, stenographers, dentists, editorial writers, preachers, and gardeners. Note too, that wage payments are widely accepted as measures of vocational competency—including, of course, the indirect wage payments, made by you as consumer in refusing to pay more than one dollar for a certain kind of glove and in willingly paying four dollars for another.

4. The following more or less homogeneous classifications of qualities entering into vocational competencies will prove serviceable:

a. The bodily skills—of hands, feet, postural controls, so very visible in the efficient needle woman, dentist, car driver, typist, sailor, painter, drill press operator, vaquero, bedmaker, electric wirer, and a thousand other vocations. (Note that these skills can rarely be learned from *printed* directions and only seldom from *orally told* suggestions except as closely related to practise. They are learned best from directed *practise*, much repetition, much trial and error—better, trial and success.)

b. The related technical knowledges—of the things which can be put into print, diagram, map, mathematical formula—and which constitute such large proportions of the so-called head-working vocations (though nearly all modern vocations—even those of barber, street car motorman, restaurant waitress, or

streetsweeper—have at least some or a little possible technical knowledge).

c. The vocational hygienics—that is, the preventions and cures of the accident hazards, the disease hazards, the overstrain or wider work hazards—peculiar to each vocation or to the conditions under which it is carried on, and conversely, the hygienic assets—in open-air work, exercise, sociability, security from danger—peculiar to each vocation.

d. The vocational social by-product values—that is, moral, civic, and religious by-product effects, good or bad, of teaching or travelling salesmanship, of bartending or cattle herding, of department store selling or coal-mining.

e. The cultural by-product effects—abstracting or enriching, helpful or hurtful, according to the isolations they entail, the contacts they promote, the ideals they inspire. (Think of twins of identical heredity and schooling to twenty years of age, then diverging—one into dry land farming, the other into high school teaching, or one into travelling salesmanship of jewelry in northwest United States, the other into bookkeeping for a lumber firm —or two girls, one into factory dressmaking, the other into department store selling.)

5. The next great classification of eudemic or personal values which are in large part fairly tangible are those functioning as *physical* or *bodily well-being*. Malfunctionings due to defective organs—broken limbs, decayed teeth, crossed-eyes, fallen arches, palpitating hearts—or to acquired diseases—malaria, infected hurts, rheumatisms, and hundreds of others are patent to all. Less tangible in their effects perhaps are "bodily shortages" due to faulty habitual posture, defective diet, insufficient "big muscle" work or play, impaired skins, etc. The *effects* of a great variety of "mental derangements" are often perceptible even where we have little or no knowledge as yet of the physiological sources from which they derive.

Physical well-being in its thousand forms obviously depends not only on *warding off* accidents and diseases, on *conserving already* good health by preserving suitable conditions of nurture, rest, shelter, work, etc., but also on having had fair *growths* of bodily parts from infancy on, and also fair specialized *training* of bodily parts for difficult conditions later to be encountered.

6. Hence the following may serve as useful classifications under which to subgroup the personal and eudemic values here assembled under physical well-being:

a. The *personal hygienes* of accident and disease prevention and cure (self-health conservation) without direct medical aid.

b. The *medical hygienes* of disease prevention and cure with aid of expert service (medical health conservation).

c. The *social* or *sanitary hygienes* necessary through governmental or other collective service—quarantine, public health service, food inspections, means of accident prevention, drug sale regulation, etc.

d. Generalized health-conserving practises through hygienically regulated diets, recreations, uses of air, heat, cold, work, emotional expressions, etc.

e. Body development fosterings from infancy to adult years, capable of being separately considered with reference to teeth, big muscles, lungs, digestive tracts, "nerves," sex organs or functionings, skin, feet, etc.

f. Body training values towards meeting specific foreseen conditions requiring extraordinary types of strengths, coordinations, or endurances. For the present we recognize such needs, largely factitious, in training for participations in competitive sports. Before invention of gunpowder, and in some modified ways since, such trainings were extensively practised to assure later success in military or other combat. (In a strict sense, such specialized bodily trainings are involved in most specific preparations for vocations, and could be provided much further than is now the case for, e.g., the sedentary, or the standing (women), or the heat working, or the cold exposure, or the gas-breathing (coal-mining), or the policing, or other specialized types of vocations. Or it could be provided for tropical living or noise enduring conditions. The present writer believes that a better informed society than ours would provide much body training for the sad exigencies and strains of gestation and parturition seemingly unavoidable to human motherhood.)

7. A third great classification of valuable qualities embraces all those involving harmonious and effectively cooperating *societal relationships* between human beings in small face-to-face groups or societies, in large, even nation-wide, groups, and between human beings and their believed-in deities, or other supernatural beings.

All human beings are possessed of *social instincts* (here to be taken not only as including the probably few social reflexes or automatically functional reactions but also the indefinitely large and varied range of urges, drives, plasticities, abilities, readinesses to learn, docilities towards social, including religious, behaviors possessed by all). But all men are also possessed of *individualistic* instincts—to be self-centered, to want things for self, to want others away or destroyed, to want to surpass or overcome, to hate, to fear, etc.

Directing the growth, stimulating the approved and repressing the disapproved, generalizing or specializing the applications of all these propensities towards collectively useful, or seemingly useful, situations, gives rise to tens of thousands of specific valuable aims or purposes in small group, large group, and religious social living.

The social virtues on the positive side are denoted in part by such "genus" terms as tolerations, loyalties, partiotisms, pieties, moralities, decencies, honors, chastities, reverences, fidelities, charities, cooperativenesses, law-abidingnesses, courageousnesses, and hundreds of others. Terms to denote disapproved social qualities also are found in hundreds in any civilized language.

8. Working classifications of the thousands of social qualities valued in civilized societies, and towards the production or enhancement of some of which, at least, particular educations can be devised, can be made under these heads:

a. The moralities: that is, the conventionalities, the decencies, the moral behaviors sought in small group—as loyalties, fidelities, fair plays, courtesies, kindlinesses, truthfulnesses, cooperations, purities, generosities, tolerations, charitablenesses, honesties, and the like between husband and wife, brothers, partners, neighbors, employer and employee, buyer and seller, strangers meeting on the highway, rivals in sports, children and elders, pupils and teachers, distressed and affluent, victor and victim.

b. The civisms: that is, the patriotisms, respects for law, large scale cooperations, uncorrupted votings, fair propagandas, deferences to appointed authorities, orderlinesses, and the like essential to the peaceful operation and the effective functioning of the city, the nation, the federation, the denomination, the economic corporation, the vocational association, and the large scale travelling and other intercourses through which highly civilized men so largely achieve their collective purposes.

Possession and exercise of these *civic* virtues is obviously made difficult by the *impersonality* of so many of the relations, the *abstractness* of so many of the *means* of *guidance*—statutes, parliamentary procedures, ordinances, etc.

c. The religious virtues: all men possess beliefs, negative or positive, as to human existence after death, and as to the existence of divinities and demons imperceptible to human senses, but largely capable and disposed to affect human welfare. Under some conditions these beliefs do serve directly, or can be made to serve by others, in affecting all types of human conduct—towards disease, or industriousness, or large group cooperations, or personal chastity, or thrift, or courage—and to serve for good or for evil ends as the wiser heads of any time may be able to make valuations in their sanest philosophies.

No attempt will be made at this stage to develop subclasses of religious virtues. The religious valuations (attitudes, sentiments, emotions) of most of us are too sensitive and dogmatic (negatively or positively) to make cool scientific analysis a congenial process at present.

9. A fourth, and for the present, the vaguest, great classification of eudemic and personal values or "goods" or "things of worth" will here be called the "cultural."

The term "cultural" has many and varied meanings in everyday, and in social science, speech. Here it will be restricted to include only those accomplishments, interests, tastes, pursuits, or possessions which, having no visible vocational, health-conserving, moral, civic, or religious worths, are nevertheless attractive, are rich sources of satisfaction, of pleasure, of happiness, "in themselves," as we say, or "on their own account."

For most of us our pleasures in hearing music, and in rendering it as amateurs, are of the essence of cultural accomplishments. So are the satisfactions which most of us take in hearing or reading stories and poems, in seeing pictures, in travelling in different and foreign lands, and in hearing more about the wonders of nature. Culture can well include all those refinements of speech, those beautifications of person, those ranges of entertaining conversation which, though serving no tangibly utilitarian purpose, are nevertheless sources of intense and, as valued by civilized persons, often very high, very beautiful, very ennobling, satisfactions to ourselves and others.

Pursuits of these cultural interests and self-development of higher appreciations in them become for large proportions of our finest men and women, obviously, the absorbing preoccupations of their non-working or leisure hours. Cultivations of what are here called cultural interests seem to many civilized men and women more distinctively and loftily *human* behaviors than are the "more mundane" utilitarian pursuits of earning livings, rearing children, helping to keep city and state well governed, or even praying to have their souls saved. "Art for its own sake," "literature for no utilitarian purpose," "philosophy, the noblest pursuit of man," "science because of its contributions to intellectual mastery, the most god-like faculty of man," "history, the most humanistic of all pursuits," "the beautiful in personal grace and speech as most befits true manhood,"—all these express valuations which enter into fine concepts of culture as defined here.

Cultural achievements derive, obviously, from many sources. Certainly the fineness of quality or degree of attainment to be realized under any one of their hundreds of types rests on foundations of nerve structure or other physiological foundations. Certainly home and community environments contribute much. And, no less certainly, men have, at least from Greek and Roman days, designed that schools and colleges should contribute much to be added to those of other less purposive sources.

Liberal colleges and the liberal courses in secondary schools have long been designed to enhance certain kinds of culture, especially on the more intellectual sides of man's "spiritual nature." Those studies called "the humanities" or the "humanistic" learnings have usually been intended to produce the qualities here called cultural. Earlier American girls' academies or "finishing schools," as well as numberless similar schools for upper economic or caste classes in Europe, were similarly designed primarily to enhance "culture"—especially on the levels of personal manners and voice, or feminine daintiness of occupations and fine "accomplishments."

10. Of the "cultural" values of life it will probably prove serviceable to make three principal categories:

a. The euthenic cultural values should embrace all those entering rather directly into the more *material* sides of utilizing life—that is, the tastes in clothes and furnitures, the appreciations of foods, the interests in wholesome recreations, the pleasant man-

ners, the attractive avocations, which, apart from health giving contributions, serve to produce what we call "high" or "good" or "refined" or "civilized" or "cultivated" standards of living. In detail specific varieties of euthenic culture are expressed in our table service, our clothes, our cleanliness, our freedom from vermin, our room furnishings, our bodily decorations, our thrift, our etiquette, our vehicles, and some of our recreations.

b. The general spiritual culture of a person or group of persons consists of those ranges of knowledge, those appreciations of the fine arts, those refinements of speech, those graces of person which are, or supposedly ought to be, of wide distribution, though of no direct utility. We all care for music and moving pictures and stories, therefore all have to a degree such cultures. Those of some grades of schooling all know something of the geography of Africa, the discovery and settlement of America, the relations of the sun to the earth, the correct uses of who and whom and are somewhat devoted to reading world news. That is their *general* spiritual culture.

c. Special or advanced spiritual cultures will here embrace any cultural pursuit carried so far as to become a hobby, a loved preoccupation, an amateur accomplishment, or the source of connoisseurship. It is possession of one or more of these specialized or advanced interests that critical writers often have in mind when speaking of "cultured" men or "cultured communities." Have you a "cultivated taste" in music? Are you "cultured" in literature? Have you no cultural interests in nature or the science of nature? Are you a craftsman, an amateur gardener, a connoisseur of the drama, a well travelled person, a delightful conversationalist, a well informed reader, a thinker about things philosophical? All of these queries suggest ranges of specialized or advanced spiritual cultural interests which, usually, are unconnected with vocations, have no direct bearing on health, do not affect morality, civism or religiousness, and are yet precious, sometimes very, very precious indeed, to their possessors.

11. Reviewing the foregoing sections, it will be seen that we have proposed four major classifications of eudemic and personal valuables or things of worth, and under each certain subclasses, each of which subclasses presumably embracing thousands of these valuables having many things in common.

A. The Vocational Proficiency Values, for Any Specific Vocation, Including:

a. The bodily, and especially the manual, skills.
b. The related technical knowledges.
c. The vocational hygienes.
d. The vocational sociabilities.
e. The vocational cultures.

B. The Physical Welfare Values, Including:

a. The personal sickness-preventing hygienes.
b. The medical hygienes.
c. The social-sanitary hygienes.
d. General health-conserving practises.
e. Body-growth-control processes.
f. Body-training processes.

C. The Societal Values, Including:

a. The moralities.
b. The civisms.
c. The religiousnesses.

D. The Cultural Values, Including:

a. The euthenic cultures.
b. The general spirital cultures.
c. The specialized spirital cultures.

12. Other classifications of social values, largely designed to serve as foundations for schemes of educational values, have been proposed. Those of the commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education (Vocational, Physical, Familistic, Fundamental Process, Ethical, Citizenship and Leisure) and of Bobbitt (ten categories) are best known. Here it is intended to give only very brief comment on some features of difference between them and the one outlined above.

a. But first, why not have as a major class "Language" or "Communication" values?

Largely because nearly all forms of language communication, oral and written, actually function as *means*—means to vocational reinforcement, to useful coordinations for moral, religious or other worth while ends. Most species of language are by no means relatively ultimate or final values—as so many of health, cultural, and other values are—though of course, in a strictly

philosophical or religious sense, none of those given above are *really ultimate.*

b. The same is true of the group called "fundamental process" values—in arithmetic, reading, essential geography, handwriting, etc. All these actually function very tangibly as *means*, as *instruments* to more central values in life.

c. There are no considerable "ethical" values apart from the three categories of societal values given above.

d. "Good family membership"—where do the numerous "good behaviors" entering here belong in the classifications proposed above?

Obviously, many of them under "moralities"—the face-to-face social behaviors of wife and husband, parents and children, brothers and sisters. But one set belongs under "vocational values"—that is, the competencies of wife and mother as home-maker and child rearer.

e. "Wise use of leisure"—is clearly an omnibus, and not at all homogeneous, classification, functionally speaking. Some of leisure time (defined as time not given to vocation, sleep, or necessary personal duties of eating, etc.) might well be given to sheer rest (physical welfare values), or to taking part in politics (civic values), or to non-school education of children (societal values, for father), or to self-culture towards higher appreciations (specialized spiritual cultures). (See next section.)

D. Problems of Locating Special Groups of Social Values in the Above Scheme

The following groupings of eudemic values often appear in current discussion: leisure (often with implications as to "education for the proper use of leisure"); play (for adults); recreations; handy-man activities (simple performance arts of men about homes, for example); avocations; English language, oral and written; travel; parenthood, and especially motherhood.

It must be repeated that the classifications proposed above are, as nearly as the writer can derive them from current conceptions of the social sciences which interpret civilized life, *functional*—that is, as nearly as current philosophies of life enable us to value things as relatively *final* values. Let us take up the list of values noted in the previous paragraph and relate them to their larger functionings.

1. Leisure. We all think we know what leisure time is. Certainly it does *not* include time set apart for the prescribed or accepted vocational duties of life. As commonly interpreted, it does not include the time devoted habitually to sleep, to dressing and eating, and to a few other similar routines of daily living.

Shall we include in "leisure time" the hours given by large proportions of adults to church attendance and the other activities associated with their *religious* functionings? Or the other hours devoted to *voting*, *public opinion influencing* (on a non-paid basis) and other types of cooperative participation in the political activities called for in a democracy?

For many types of both "muscle" and "brain" workers some portion of leisure time will probably be required for "rest." Under some, perhaps many, conditions, *diversional* activities *may* profitably be indulged in whilst resting—such as "light" reading, attendance on moving pictures, strolling, gossiping, card playing, knitting, listening to music,—or even smoking, daydreaming, watching the fire or the sidewalk procession. But it is obvious that for most really fatigued persons for whom real *rest* is necessary, these diversional activities must call for but slight exertion of any kind—in other words, they are and must be substantially different in degree of intensity from the *recreational* activities later referred to.

For persons who are not wearied, leisure time can, obviously, be used for a wide range of play-like recreational activities, for programs of self-improvement which may be chosen from an almost unlimited range, or in various kinds of immediately comfortable or even fascinating "dissipations"—gambling, carousing, attendance on exhibitions of an unproductive if not objectionable character, loafing, idling, and the like.

The above analysis at once suggests that "leisure" or "leisure time" is not in any sense a fairly "final good" but is almost generally a "means" to other and various eudemic goods, as suggested above—sometimes health-conserving, sometimes culture-enhancing, occasionally vocation improving, and for not a few persons, civism-improving and religion-elevating. In other words, there are many kinds of social values to be realized through leisure time, and hence the phrase "education for the wise use of leisure" denotes an omnibus collection of highly heterogeneous educational values.

2. Play for adults. In anything like a strict biological sense "play" is a type of activity of the *young* of many species of animals—lambs, kittens, chicks, colts—in which *adults* do not engage. The essentials of play activity are found in their immediate spontaneity—that is, activity for its own sake, activity pursued only so long as impulse is active.

On the other hand, man is the only creature who has normally so varied a range of activities and who in his serious or productive activities tends so much towards specialization that he evolves a host of essentially *recreative* pursuits which, while not biologically of a class with the plays of infancy, nevertheless so resemble them that in common thought and common parlance they are called "play."

3. Recreational activities, in any strict sense, come into practise under two conditions: (*a*) when individuals are capable, and even under need, of giving expression to several fairly distinct types of activity—e.g., intellectual activity in hearing legends or news, the social activities of games, the big muscle activities of hunting or other bodily work, and the small muscle activities of fingers, eyes, etc.; and (*b*) when the normal vocational pursuits call into action adequate for normalcy of brain or body only some of the foregoing activities. Thus, the herder of sheep walks much, but converses hardly at all in his work—for him conversation is a much needed recreation. The teacher of a group of children experiences in her work an abundance of one kind of conversation and a poverty of big muscle activity—hence her recreations may be conversation with adults and big muscle "play." The factory specialist may have ample company and an excess of small muscle work, thereby becoming "starved" for walking, lifting, or other big muscle activity which must come to him as a recreation.

Because the need for specialized recreational times and facilities has been for long more intensely and perhaps more intelligently felt by "brain" workers or sedentary small muscle workers than by others, and especially since most of these are also "indoor" workers, superficial thinkers have generally inferred that all recreational activities should involve much big muscle sport or avocational "work," and should be in the open. In a more fundamental sense, however, nearly all types of modern work are sufficiently specialized in one way or another to make

appropriate offsetting recreative activities very much of a necessity to physical, mental, moral, or sociability healthfulness. Notions that the dock worker needs big muscle recreation, or the editor "intellectual" recreation, or the preacher "social" recreation, or the cowboy "open-air" recreation, or the bookkeeper "game" recreation are, in general, obviously silly on the face of them.

But even within these areas of activity may be found some gaps. Sailors "fed up" on masculine company, crave associations with the opposite sex—reputable, if possible, disreputable, if nothing else avails. American soldiers in France were often found to be greatly interested in developing companionship with children. Women school teachers and wives are often found greatly to desire intellectual conversation and sociability with men of considerably different experiences from their own.

Among eudemic values, then, are to be counted a host of recreational values, towards adequate exercise of each type of which appropriate educations can be made to function as *means*. But some of these recreations are essentially of big muscle, open-air kinds and belong clearly under the "health-conserving" activities. Others are "cultural," still others social, and there are examples of avocations—gardening, e.g., by urban workers—which have become in effect secondary vocations.

Hence the varied and heterogeneous recreational values called for in a modern complex society can all be effectively classified for purposes of deriving really functional educational *means* under the scheme earlier developed.

4. The primitive worker in almost any field has to be something of a "Jack-of-all-trades." The frontier settler builds his own house, makes his own sled, shoes his own horses, cures his own meats. His wife weaves her own cloth, preserves her own berries, makes her own butter. The small merchant keeps his own books, the small hotel keeper is often his own cook and waiter, the country school teacher is often her own janitor.

Specialization of process ultimately affects all these workers. The frontier settler, become the prosperous farmer of a well settled community, hires carpenters to build his new house. Factories take over the work of making vehicles, cloth, clothes, and furniture. Refrigerators preserve meats, and canning factories take care of the preserving of fruits and vegetables.

These processes of concentration of work are visible everywhere. In small towns, the handy house owner may make minor repairs, install bell wires, repair faucets. His wife may keep a few chickens, and raise some vegetables. But in the large city the apartment tenant may not touch the electric fixtures nor the plumbing. Of course he does not paint his new home. His wife can have no garden, and the law grows stricter about window plants.

To what extent, then, do there still remain a series of values of a handy-man character, that may properly be regarded as "secondary" or incidental vocational values? (Note that we are not here speaking of "avocations" which, etymologically and logically, are not "productive" at all, but instead, as true recreations, "call away" the worker from his vocation.)

It is here contended that most of these handy-man values are now so tenuous, fluid, and unsubstantial that they give no useful basis for a special class of social values as a means to determining a class of educational values.

In so far as school educations can take cognizance of these values they should do so through the developmental cultural pursuits, especially of the intermediate grades. The primary purpose of boys' industrial arts in junior high school grades should, for example, be developmental, but a secondary purpose of the subject, programmed as a primary purpose of some of the projects, could well be to produce appreciations, experience, and powers which might carry over into adult years as true handy-man activities.

It is doubtful if any true handy-man activities can be separated for prospective farmers or homemakers, so many are the accessory arts which still belong to these vocations. Perhaps we could best apply the term "handy-man activities" to those forms of productive work which specialists in mines, urban trades, centralized factory pursuits, and the like can undertake in their homes or on their vacations.

5. Many students of classifications of eudemic values feel disposed to make a large and important division of the English language or the mother tongue. Sometimes the division is made more inclusive, to include all "communication."

Let us first note the scope of this division of values. It embraces both spoken and written language. It involves both the receptive and the expressive aspects of communication. Silent

reading is a purely receptive art, handwriting a purely expressive art. Commands over spelling, punctuation, capitalization are means of effective written communication. Habitual pronunciations, uses of approved syntactical arrangements, and the like are means of effective oral communication.

To the critical student who will consider carefully the actual "functional values" of most specific powers of linguistic expression or apprehension, it at once becomes apparent that these, according to their kind and degree, are almost invariably *means* to more final values which can readily be analyzed. And the same art mastery in language can be made to serve as a means to many highly unlike kinds of values.

Take, for example, literacy. Under various conditions this has been highly valued as a *means* to: religiousness (the reading of the Bible by each Protestant for himself); good political membership (that each democratic voter might familiarize himself with current issues and do his own thinking about them); vocational success (that each farmer could read for himself market prices, bills, etc., or that each mechanic should be able to read technical books on his trade); personal culture (that each aspiring mind should be able to read of the world's good literature, its history and the like).

What kind of English speech is held to be valuable, if not indispensable, to saleswomen? Superior abilities in platform speaking are not valuable ends in themselves—towards what important function are they valuable *means?* Girls who have lived near each other for years are, at 15 years of age, substantially 100 per cent perfect in their abilities to communicate orally with each other, even though none of them has ever attended school; under what conditions, then, would more accurate syntax or ampler vocabularies become really *functional* for them?

Answers to hundreds of similar queries which could easily be provided will show convincingly that all usual masteries of oral and written English with which schools might be concerned are not final values in themselves, but invariably *means* to more spiritual culture, to better civism, to success in vocation, to more successful health conservation, or to more intelligent and appreciative worship.

Hence, particularly desired achievements in English can best be discussed directly in connection with achievement of the

relatively final values to which they are demonstrably valuable means.

6. Parenthood. Among the relatively final eudemic values many thinkers place "parenthood." Why, then, is not this given a distinctive classification in the scheme of social values outlined above?

The rearing of children constitutes to a very large extent the true vocation of the typical non-out-working American mother. The typical American father, in pursuit of his out-working vocation, is consciously providing largely for the support of his family group.

Under primitive conditions parents assumed some responsibilities for the religious and secular educations of their children, responsibilities which tend increasingly in advanced societies to be delegated to specialized schools. Parental vernaculars, political preferences, euthenic standards, elemental moralities, and cultural interests are usually acquired imitatively from parents, and will largely reflect the superior and inferior qualities of these.

In other words, under all present conditions nearly all the qualities which merge in the "effective rearing" of children are derivative from such qualities in parents and in the administrators of other agencies which stand *in loco parentis*. Hence parenthood cannot well be set up as a group class of a fairly homogeneous set of eudemic values.

CHAPTER VI

SOURCE AGENCIES OF GROWTHS (INCLUDING NATURALISTIC LEARNINGS AND THE PURPOSED LEARNINGS CALLED TEACHINGS AND EDUCATIONS)

A. Interpreting Personal Experiences

1. Mr. B at 25 years of age, a young business man and eager for political recognition, is being looked upon as a ready and interesting speaker at dinners, during political campaigns and on other occasions. In conversation he speaks very correct and dialect-free English. Suggest three hypotheses as to when, sources from which, and how, he may have acquired his superior uses of English.

2. The parents of three boys 5, 3, and 1 years of age, living in a rather "slummy" part of a small city, decide that "for the sake of the boys" they must move to a small house in a suburban village, though it will hamper the husband in his work, and remove the wife from the neighborhood of some relatives.

a. What kinds of learnings on the part of their children are they trying to *prevent?*

b. What kinds increase and foster?

c. Shall we call their actions or controls "education" or "educative"?

3. A Protestant evangelical church devotes much effort to the production of a good Sunday school—embracing class groups for children from 5 years of age to adults in Bible classes.

a. Describe rather fully what you think will be at least five kinds of objectives which they will have in mind?

b. Describe what you think will probably be the more conspicuous *means* and *methods* which they will employ.

c. In what respects, if any, do you think their concrete objectives will closely resemble those of public schools?

4. A certain boy, John, son of a manual-working father, and of a mother who has three smaller children to attend to, living in a

town of some ten thousand persons, begins at about 7 years of age to spend much time with congenial playfellows in his neighborhood. He does fairly good work in school, but the activities of himself and his "bunch," between ages 7 and 14, are absorbingly interesting. Occasionally one of the boys moves far away, and about as often a new boy joins the company. There is a playground, but the boys in threes or more prefer vacant lots, railway tracks, and, on Saturdays and Sunday afternoons, some streams a mile or two away. Since the family stays home all summer, the ten summer weeks are especially open to all-day games and some boy-made excursions. Clubs or scouting are not available.

a. Describe ten kinds of learnings that will probably be pretty steadily taking place through these play place associations.

b. Analyze these provisionally into some which in later life will probably prove harmful and some which will probably prove helpful.

c. In what respects do present *adult* standards, expectations, controls probably influence some of these learnings. (Separately consider: vernacular; cleanliness of person; religious beliefs; ideals of adult work; nature knowledge; sexal moralities; property moralities; local history; practical arts; familial cooperations; attitudes towards women; and others.)

d. How would you describe the "herd-mindedness" or "coterie-mindedness" of these learnings, and their effects?

e. In what respects does it seem likely to you that in important degree these play place learnings will run counter to, perhaps nullify, home, Sunday school, and public school educations?

f. In what respects, if any, should we be justified in describing these play place learnings as "educations"?

g. To what extent, and towards what ends, do conscious teachings play rôles in these play place growths?

5. A girl, Miss M, begins about 14 years of age to be much interested in clothes. She is eager to be "popular"—not with elderly people or farmers, but with girls of her own kind and especially with boys of nearly her own, or slightly greater than her own, age. Between 14 and 18 years of age she visits department stores a great deal, often with her mother or a chum, and she constantly looks scrutinizingly at window displays. Her parents can afford to give her only a moderate allowance for clothes—about $100 a year during her high school years, to which she adds

some $30 of her own earnings. She also does the equivalent of $50 worth of mending, refitting, etc., herself.

Under these conditions of motivation, things to observe, talking with others, etc., she acquires much of what we shall call "learnings from the market place." Discuss these points:

a. Of what *aims, purposes, objectives* of these *learnings* will Miss M be especially conscious?

b. In what ways can we hold that the "market place"—and above all, the keen commercial minds directing it—deliberately sets out to *educate* the girl? And what are probably the *objectives* of its educations?

c. In what respects will the *learnings* of the girl run fairly steadily counter to the established standards, the desires, of her parents? And why?

d. Do elementary schools—with pupils to age 12—do anything especially significant towards preparing the girl to meet the same needs as does the "market place"? By what means? In pursuit of what objectives? Do you think they should do much more than they now do?

e. Same as (*d*), but junior high school?

f. Same as (*d*), but grades 10 to 12?

g. Do "market place learnings" considerably influence Miss M's correctness of speech? Her knowledge of geography? Her interests in learning a trade or other vocation? Her civic interests? Does she by similar processes considerably extend her useful knowledge of foodstuffs? Why?

6. A boy, N, between the ages of 12 and 18, likewise wanders much up and down the "market place." At about 17 years of age he begins to be much interested in clothes. Before that he has been especially interested in automobiles, hardware, new popular magazines, etc. Provide your own analysis of his probably profound, and probably superficial, "market place learnings." Discuss your estimates of their purposiveness and values.

7. The moving pictures and talkies are among the most vivid sources of new experiences for millions—probably 80 per cent of American children and youth and conspicuously between the ages of 10 and 22. (It is claimed that in many American neighborhoods, 80 per cent of paid admissions come from youths from

15 years of age to the time of marriage—when they are "single" and at the same time "self-supporting.")

a. Do the "stage place learnings" probably achieved abundantly through movies and talkies add to or considerably reinforce the "English language" teachings of elementary schools? Of secondary schools?

b. Same as (*a*), but arithmetic?

c. Same as (*a*), but geographies and histories?

d. Same as (*a*), but music? (Postulate supposed objectives of school music.)

e. Do these dramatic agencies—"stage places"—seem to you seriously to extend, deepen, validate (seemingly to justify), what seem to you *bad*, vicious, or debauching moralities (that is, foster learning of immoralities)? (Be sure to give *broad* interpretations to moralities; include many species of private property, truth-telling, kindliness, fair play in sports, clean language, and decency moralities as well as sexal moralities.)

f. Same as (*e*), but fostering learnings of good, ennobling, moralities?

g. What morality teachings of schools seem to you to be somewhat nullified or disparaged by "stage place" learned moralities?

h. Same as (*g*), but reinforced, strengthened?

i. Prepare your own analysis of what seem to you probable *religious* effects of these learnings.

j. Same, international relations.

8. At 16 years of age P quits school and "gets a job" in a hardware store. He has had no kind of vocational experience before, though he has been open-eyed in the "market place," and observant of various adults at work. He has had about 160 hours "shop" in junior high school—mostly with wood and electricity, and with the tools used in shaping and controlling these media.

In the store he is at first set to work on simpler tasks—unpacking goods, sweeping up, placing back on shelves and in containers articles taken out for exhibit to buyers. He delivers purchases. A little later he is put to work "assembling" complex tools or vehicles which are shipped to the store "taken down." Still later on busy days he does some selling, always asking older clerks for information which he does not himself possess. He tells his father that he is "learning" more new things than he ever learned

before in an equal time. His superiors frequently chide him for haste or carelessness in his work, and in early stages he has made many mistakes in simple calculations and in reading addresses. Often he is called "stupid" when he fails to comprehend complexities of the tools which he is showing customers.

a. What are the expected functionings of these "work place learnings"? Are they likely to prove important in the sum total of his learnings?

b. Does his employing agency intend to "educate" him? How will you characterize its means and methods to this end?

c. From what sources, and to what extent probably, can he draw upon (and *not* draw upon as well) his "elementary school learnings"? His "Sunday school learnings"? His "play place learnings"? His "stage place learnings"?

d. Why, in your estimation, have not vocational schools been organized to teach "hardware selling," as vocational schools have now been organized to teach dentistry, stenography, and pharmacy?

e. In his preoccupations with learning to be an effective worker and to win promotion, P is likely completely to neglect his earlier studies in history, general science, civics, etc. Have these, then, been a total loss?

9. Many other agencies or sources of extra-school learnings can be distinguished: (*a*) journals (or the press), including magazines and newspapers; (*b*) the police power (including patrolling police, laws and ordinances, the courts and all allied controls); (*c*) travel (including Sunday excursions, summer vacations away from regular home, and travel abroad); (*d*) periods of sickness, hospital attendance, etc.; (*e*) the library—public or household or other center where book selection is possible; (*f*) "falling in love," including preoccupations in courtship, facing of possible conjugal responsibilities, etc.; (*g*) reverie (including daydreaming, mental romancing, "woolgathering," etc.); and (*h*) organized "club" activities, including scouting, etc.

If the reader has had special interests in, or opportunities for, studying any one of these extra-school sources of good and bad learnings, of relating them to school educations, he is asked to prepare, first, an analysis of the several important phases of his topic and then to organize his own reactions.

B. Some Postulates (or Hypotheses for the Skeptical) as to Extra-School Sources of Learnings and Other Growths

1. Valuable learnings and other growths take place intensely throughout childhood, youth, and young adulthood from such sources as households, play places, church, club, work places, press, stage, market places, and other material and human contacts.

2. Large proportions of these learnings do not result from any conscious or purposive teachings. But it is also true that in work place, play place, and household learnings there is often sporadic and very purposeful *teaching*, taking forms of telling, showing, ordering, blaming, prohibiting, shaming, setting examples for imitation, and the like.

3. If we define education so as to include only learnings consciously directed towards foreseen ends and in the light of values approved in these ends, then only small proportions of the learnings achieved under auspices of households, play places, press, and stage places can properly be included as *educations*.

4. If, more broadly, we define as educations all learnings towards ends consciously held or strongly established and approved in customs, then large proportions of household, work place, police-power, library, and club learnings can well be included under educations.

5. Learnings achieved under influence of play place, press, and stage place sources can only rarely be called education. The primary purposes of these agencies are diversional, recreational, and play-fostering. Of *purposed* learning ends they have few, either conscious to their promoters, or embedded in custom. The learnings achieved may be, and often are, *valuable*—but they *are not educational* in purpose.

6. It is often proposed that *the state*, as the most important society, and the residual custodian of eudemic well-being, should educatively control the learnings to be achieved in or through households, stage places, press, and some other sources. In a sense the state (government) has often set *boundaries of fitness* to such learnings, through, for example, censorship. Highly autocratic governments can and do, obviously, go to great lengths in

such controls. But it is doubtful if democratic states can or should do so, since the promotion of learnings in any case is but a secondary function of family, household, play place, press, stage place and other agencies. All Americans will agree that the state should only set outside boundaries—to prevent treasonable learnings, for example—to Sunday school teachings. The state can, obviously, control public library and police-power learnings, since these are state or public agencies.

7. Schools are ordinarily *primary* agencies to assure certain kinds of learning—in fact they were originated and developed essentially to foster such learnings as reading, writing, dead language teaching, foreign language teaching, mathematics teaching, and other kinds which extra-school agencies could not teach at all well.

8. But in recent years schools have been directed by the state, by philanthropic agencies, or other sources, to become also agencies of the fostering of a variety of advanced or refined or specialized forms of learnings for which other agencies can fairly well provide the earlier stages. Thus in households we commonly learn more in a quantitative sense of vernacular speech, moralities, hygienes and utilizers' cultures (especially of euthenic kinds) than schools can ever hope to *teach*. But there are refinements, new varieties, specialized uses of such learnings here for which schools increasingly take responsibility.

9. In all these regions of residual responsibility—and their variety is legion now—it is clear that if the schools are to be effective, they must somehow obtain (*a*) reliable information as to what, in any particular type of learning, constitutes optimum expected achievement, and (*b*) fairly exact determination of the scope and character of learnings in that field already achieved or to be achieved through extra-school sources as pre-school, para-school, or post-school learnings.

(Policy-making educators must learn to think of these in terms of very specific objectives—e.g., pronunciations of words using "th" or terminal "ing" or the "a" sounds; or syntaxes of "whom," "lie," and "seen"; or the hygienic prevention or self-medication of burns; or the moralities of harsh nagging (scolding); and hundreds of others—if they are to make their school educations really effective.)

10. In a sociological sense, schools (including thereunder *all* agencies making some form of teaching or education a *primary* function) not only tend to increase in variety and scope in order to discharge historic functions of controlling particular growths and especially learnings, but new types are being created or new functions for old schools being assigned, in order to relieve extra-school agencies of their secondary educative functions. For this reason have come into existence Sunday schools (to replace household religious educations), kindergartens (originally for children of slums), nursery schools, medical colleges (to replace apprenticeship), dancing classes, "finishing schools," "coaching" schools, air piloting schools (and all other vocational schools to replace apprenticeship or "pick-up" agencies of vocational training), "foreign travel" classes, bridge classes, schools for training in research, and scores of others.

11. Very probably, too, the future will witness further specialized offerings of press, stage, police power, library, and play place for purposive educative advantages of children of two or more age levels. Children's magazines at present are more diversional than educative, but objectionable growths or learnings can to some extent be *prevented* through them—as they can on supervised play places. *Educative* moving pictures are still largely farcical because of vagueness and sentimentality of objectives, but there are large possibilities ahead. Many parents would cooperate with commercial interests if Friday evenings and Saturday afternoons could be reserved for especially non-contaminating—not necessarily positively educative—movies and talkies.

12. The present writer believes that the time is not far distant when within each state will be found some hundreds of kinds of full-time, full-competency training vocational schools for the trades, factory pursuits, selling and other commercial vocations, farming, homemaking, and the like, to supplement the dozen or more types of higher vocational schools—of medicine, teaching, engineering, etc. now found in each state. These will come largely because in proportion as "industry"—that is, manufacturing, farming, building, transporting, selling, homemaking, policing, barbering, and the like—becomes more specialized, more scientific, more competent the *less* will its divisions be able

to look after vocational training as a by-product—any more than patients can now train their own dentists.

C. Some Exercise Problems Towards Determining Educational Means of Producing Eudemic Values

In the following problems, "lotment" is a "time measure" of school effort—thirty clock hours, however distributed (perhaps one hour a week for thirty weeks or six hours a day for five days). All the work of a high school—recitation, laboratory, home study —for one-half year—ninety days time, six hours daily, would consist of eighteen lotments.

A "theme" is a fairly small and well integrated unit of learning or study, usually to take from one to ten hours of initial effort and of review, to obtain desired mastery. Partial equivalents are "topic," "problem," project (if not too extensive), lesson (which may lack integration), exercise, job (if small), etc.

A one-half-year course (ninety days) in a subject, if expected to take one and one-half hours per day for class and preparation would embrace four and one-half lotments and might be subdivided into from twenty to fifty theme units.

1. *Vocational Values.* Select one of these vocations: house carpenter; stenographer; shoe repairer; house visiting seamstress; high school teacher of physics, chemistry, and mathematics; restaurant waitress; homemaker (separate house, three small children, no servant help); or dairy farmer. Assume that full competency training, beginning at a fairly mature age—rarely below eighteen years—and given in a vocational school devoted to that vocation only, is designed to train the worker to competent "journeyman," or "operative" competency. (Assume no prevocational school preparation, except, possibly, in cases of homemaker and dairy farmer.) Briefly describe:

a. Three "theme units" of training in manual skills for the vocation.

b. Two in related technical knowledges (if need is not apparent, explain why).

c. Two each in vocational hygiene, socialities and cultures (if need is not apparent, explain why).

d. Estimate number of "lotments" probably desirable to produce optimum competencies in learners of modal potentialities for that vocation in a full-time school (school to include coopted

agencies for practical training through participation in "commercially" productive work).

2. *Physical Well-Being Values.* In suggesting course units or themes for grades beyond the elementary, assume that previous work has been as well done as it is now in the best one-third of American schools.

a. Propose three theme units in personal sickness and accident-preventing hygienics suitable to first three grades; three for grades 4 to 6; three for grades 7 to 9; and three for grades 10 to 12.

b. Propose three theme units for medical hygiene especially important for grades 7 to 9; for grades 10 to 12; and for college grades 13 to 14.

c. Propose five themes of probable value to be incorporated in social science courses for village communities in Southern (or Rocky Mountain or New England) States.

d. Propose three themes in general health conservation of probably urgent need in cases of children of foreign born manual working parents, at ages 9–12; same, children in prosperous suburbs; same, high school girls.

e. A consolidated junior high school is attended by one hundred boys, largely farmers' sons. Differentiate three types of "defects" or "shortages" of body growth, each of which is likely to be found in from three to ten cases, and propose one or more theme units of needed education. Repeat for girls.

f. Describe three exigencies in life likely to come to some at least of present-day high school students calling for specialized body training processes and indicate one or more theme units of training. Comment on text suggestions as to need for such training for: sedentary vocations; for parenthood.

3. *Social Efficiencies.* Before proposing educational means towards social virtues, indicate your own theories as to efficacy of such training through "incidental" processes or as "by-products" of school pursuits of other objectives.

a. Propose three kinds of probably important school training in moralities for extra-school functionings, adapted to ages 6–9 in usual urban environment. If it seems to you feasible, propose theme units for such training. Repeat, for boys, ages 12–15. Repeat, for girls, ages 12–15.

b. Propose two theme units of American history which would

seem to you valuable means of civic education, at ages 12–15. Repeat, using units of simple economics or sociology or social problems. Repeat, using units from civics.

c. Propose three theme units which might be used with adolescents in a progressive Protestant church in suburban environments to instruct in vital religious beliefs as held by you.

4. *Cultures.*

a. Propose three themes in euthenic cultures now neglected, especially for junior high schools.

b. Criticise present school offerings in general spirital cultures in grades 4 to 9 in the fields of geography and history.

c. Forty per cent of the pupils in a large high school seem to have inferior musical interests and are indifferent to poetry. Submit proposals for offerings designed to advance them in probably promising lines of specialized spirital cultures.

D. Problems of Optimum Functionings of Extra-School Agencies of Learnings

It has been suggested that the educative functionings of such extra-school agencies as workshops, the press, the stage, and the market place will probably decline as these agencies specialize more and better on their primary functions; that the police power, the library, and the church can develop branch schools for children for their educative functions; that the state will probably take charge of all forms of vocational education through specialized schools, purchasing from going commercial concerns facilities for practical participations; and that clubs and play places can increasingly be made to discharge valuable educative functions complementary to those of schools, even though their primary functions will still continue to be recreative and diversional. Let us now examine certain complex problems as to which prophecy is difficult:

1. Will the mother-centered household continue to be, as it has so largely been in America for three centuries, a rich center of the more or less controlled physical (nurtural, hygienic, bodily activity), moral, linguistic, and euthenic cultural growths of small children?

a. Probably 90 per cent of all American children since 1607 have been reared in homes in which the mother was exclusively

an in-worker, pursuing tasks which enabled her to give close supervision to *all* the growths of her children up to 10 years of age. (If we exclude Negroes, the per cent is nearer 95; if we exclude recent immigrants, not yet Americanized, the per cent is probably 98; and of farmers the per cent has always been substantially 100.)

b. All present prospects indicate that in rapidly increasing measure the mothers of American children in the future, with a few pathological exceptions, will: (1) be habitual users of fairly good English; (2) be well informed as to wholesome and modern hygienic practises; (3) have a fairly good equipment of euthenic culture (superior standards of living or "American" standards); (4) be in a position to use much machinery for heavy housework; (5) be moderately well informed as to maintenance of desirable moral, mental, emotional, and belief growths in children; (6) be expected to mother in her lifetime only three to five children, and these amply "spaced"; and (7) have the cooperation of a husband of somewhat better earning powers than in the past. (Even the cultural home economics and hygienics of our schools and the rising household standards are producing good results now, and when we shall have schools for genuine vocational homemaking, results should be far better.)

c. On the other hand, some practises and a host of feministic aspirations at present point rather to a great increase in the specialization of nurtural and educative functions away from household centers. The present writer thinks that kindergartens have, or should have, important educative functions only for children from pathologically inferior homes or play place environments; but he finds many thinkers who contend that the kindergarten possesses important values for even the children of 50 per cent of the better present-day American homes. For similar reasons the nursery or pre-kindergarten school is favored. To a considerable extent these proposals are involved with ideals that for whole or at least part working-time mothers shall substitute gainful for house-centered work—partly because of the progressive withdrawal to machine production of household elaborative employments.

d. The problem is complicated by the seeming probability that with advancing schooling, extended devotions to social festivities and travel, other addictions to the higher play life, and

the excitement of "careers," increasing proportions of sensitive American women are contemplating motherhood, in its physical, and even more in its child-rearing, aspects as a disagreeable process to be evaded or minimized as much as possible. All studies of our better schooled, luxury-reared, socially ambitious, vocationally successful classes of women seem to sustain the above inferences—always, of course, as to rising proportions only.

e. The writer is convinced that the problem will prove to be further complicated by future discoveries as to the very great desirability of conserving very *naturalistic, unforced growth conditions* for all children of superior mental powers, if these are to get their best preparation for the highly artificialized physical, emotional, and intellectual pursuits to be carried on during the years from 16 to 70. To him kindergartens and all other specialized, non-maternal educative, or even nurturing conditions for children under 10 years of age almost inevitably create hothouse forcings which will seriously abort the basic growths essential to later 60 years of bodily, emotional, and mental health in presence of several kinds of adult strains.

2. Will it be practicable extensively to depend upon *voluntary* service in future for the conduct of such quasi-school educations as scouting, club work, play place supervision, and religious school teaching and the like? The present writer thinks not, but rather that all of these will have gradually to evolve on to a more or less commercialized basis.

3. Assume the state to undertake to provide for *all* forms of vocational education instead of for only professional vocations and for one commercial vocation (stenography-typing) as at present—and that specialized schools thus provided for are expected to train the worker for "full competency" participations (for junior vocations, during years 17–20, for journeyman or operative vocations, for ages 19–20, 25–30, and for mastership vocations for ages 25–30 to end of working years). Obviously large proportions of such training—reaching to 90 per cent in the more manual skill specialized vocations—will have to be through educative and supervised participations in graded stages of commercially productive work. Will it prove practicable and desirable for the state to provide such productive work in any but a few cases? Note: that now vocational schools of medicine and

nursing coopt participations in progressive (in a sense, commercial) hospitals; that stenography-typing uses school work, mostly of an "exercise," and therefore unreal, character; that law schools, theological schools, and engineering schools are floundering in this phase of their educations; and that vocational schools for elementary teachers (but not secondary) seem fairly well to have solved their problems by integrations into commercially productive public or private "practise" schools.

Note also: that schools of war leadership, navigation, agricultural leadership, and business administration still confine themselves largely to *technical instruction;* that some schools of pharmacy have strong part-time participations; that government schools of air navigation have created their own highly efficient *exercise* (not commercial) facilities for "learning to do by doing"; that "Smith-Hughes" schools of farming embrace some very realistic "home project" practical work; that so-called trade and home economics schools have only very rarely annexed or developed really good practical participations; and that the more academic of schoolmen still think that there is no "teaching content" in the learning of skills through practical experience.

The following inferences seem sound to the writer:

a. For shop-centered vocations requiring little equipment and machinery, it will prove easily practicable for the state to organize productive shops of its own, operated on a strictly commercial basis, to assure the needed participations. To this order, obviously, can belong the vocations of barbering, shoe repairing, watch repairing, automobile repairing, clothes pressing, beauty parlor work, restaurant cooking, etc.

b. Where the state itself is already engaged in, or could profitably develop, large amounts of productive work—public school maintenance, highway construction, printing, hospital care—the problem should prove simple.

c. Where the state could not readily provide or effectively operate productive work—railroading, banking, department store merchandising, coal-mining, oil-mining, moving picture operation, farming, house building, telegraphy, book publishing, etc.—participation facilities could doubtless be purchased for a negotiated price, it being assumed that the educative agency (the school) would provide adequate supervisory or coordinating control, and that any impairment of production for the employer

would be compensated for. (Certainly there should be no "philanthropy" or "personal accommodation" involved—all should be strictly "business.")

d. Because of partisan and other complications it may prove undesirable for the state under existing conditions to take any part in theological or related vocational educations.

4. Because of primary functions of serving adults it is doubtful whether censorship as a means of protecting the young from contaminating growths through newspapers and magazines, the market place (including its educative advertising), moving pictures, commercially purveyed books, adult play places (beach resorts, public "gardens," etc.), the street, and the like can prove more than slightly effective. Rather, schools and homes will have to restrict the participations of children in these adult activities.

5. The physical and social optimum development of youths from 10 to 20 years of age, it is predicted, will presently be found to require prolonged and systematized participations in *physical work*. For urban children these means may have to be developed and fostered as are sports now, or perhaps as is commercialized camping now.

CHAPTER VII

THE PRIMARY AND THE RESIDUAL (COMPLEMENTARY, SUPPLEMENTARY) LEARNINGS EXPECTED FROM SCHOOLS

A. Some Introductory Observations

1. It is apparent to all that long before schools existed all normally environed children learned: the local mother tongue—its pronunciation, its most used terms, its syntax; the hygienic customs of the local group; the morality behaviors expected between parents and children, between coequals in the family, between children and respected elders in the clan, between children and strangers, between children and various kinds of wild and domesticated animals; the religious (or magical or animistic) beliefs and the derived social behaviors, regarding deities, demons, hundreds of other postulated spirit beings, and the post-mortal existences and behaviors of humans, friendly and inimical; a great deal of the tribal lore (legends, hero tales, "good stories," historic events, geographic reports, and many other varieties of transmissible fact, fiction, report, etc.); much art appreciation—song, dance, decoration, nature representation, symbol, etc.; a great range of ideas and ideals of "what we expect to do when we grow up"; a host of "practical arts"—catching fish, shooting birds with arrows, planting seeds, preparing food, bringing water, herding domestic animals, building fires, making windbreaks, piling stones, cleaning game, and hundreds of others—picked up imitatively and often enforced by elders; and many other varieties of learnings, including scores of childhood games and plays.

2. The boys growing up on Americans farms during the latest two centuries, and especially on farms in regions of uneven topography, like the boys of distant times, learned thousands of kinds of language powers, uses of tools, controls of animals, moralities, religious beliefs, facts and myths of nature, cooperations with fellows and animals, aspirations for later years, and the like from their varied experiences with nature, and from their associations

with other humans—parents, sibs, hired men, travellers, preachers, gang fellows, courtship contacts, and the like.

3. The urban reared boy of today probably learns considerably less than his farm reared cousin from and of streams, game, storms, and crops. He certainly learns less by imitative use of tools wherewith men and women do their productive work. On the other hand, he witnesses a far greater range of the transporting, policing, building, barbering, merchandising, fire fighting, street paving, and recreational activities of men. Of all the things which can be learned—good and bad—by intensive and frequent contact with coterie fellows, and with persons somewhat older than himself he learns far more than the farm boy—so much, indeed, that we think of the typical city boy of 10 or 14 or 18 years of age as being highly sophisticated, wise before his time.

Perhaps the farm boy learns more intensely the speech of his parents, the city boy the slang of his coterie. The country boy may learn a largely uncontroverted body of religious beliefs, the city boy may learn of so many contradictory ones as to become cynical, agnostic. The city boy learns great physical, mental, and moral agilities and tricks in dealing with his fellows, whilst the country boy may remain rather simple, unsuspecting, and clumsy. Perhaps the country boy will have learned respects for the community moralities which will include all *legalities* (since officers of the law exert few direct or visible controls on him and his), whereas the city boy may have deeply learned to respect the moralities of his herd and clan, but to render only perfunctory and enforced respect to the legalities of city and state.

4. We know that in primitive societies where only the rudiments of schools exist in the shape of fireside recitals of lores, ceremonial dances, short periods of war training and initiations, it is nevertheless true that the young adult has already assimilated (or learned) not only the thousands of acquisitions referred to above, but that he has considerably absorbed also, perhaps in hardly tangible ways, the political faiths, the philosophies of life, the larger cooperating motivations of his elders.

Similar learnings take place in all modern societies in only slightly variant ways. Under most conditions children tend to "grow up" in the political faiths of their parents—influenced thereto largely by the conversation of the household, but to a

degree by the newspapers received into the household, the visitors discussing "politics" with their elders, and the political leadership sought out by those of whom they hear.

Of largely similar imitative derivation are the "standards of living," the schemes of euthenic values, which most of us acquire fairly deeply and often almost unchangeably on the road between infancy and adulthood. Schools may modify these at particular points but the massive structures of taste, attitude, valuation, and ideal of "good" or "right" living built up through extra-school contacts are seldom radically changed by school educations.

The euthenic valuations, the religious faiths, and the political theories and practises of men are large components of their "philosophies of life." But these "philosophies" which we all have embrace many other elements—our sexal longings and creeds, our secret personal ambitions, our faiths in our own destinies, our beliefs in the "rightness" or "wrongness" of present social conditions, our hopes for the future, our disillusionments, and hundreds of other factors—including in a sense our conditioning physical passions, inertias, impulses, morbidities, longings for active expression, obsessions, and the like. But as respects large proportions of these "philosophies of life" common experience informs us that household and other extra-school environments have been chief sources. They have been learned, but schools have not taught them except in spots.

B. Problems Involving Personal Experiences

1. *English pronunciations* are learned largely outside of schools, but nearly always some work is left for schools to do. Using your experience towards answering the following questions, indicate what seem to you desirable objectives of school educations in teaching pronunciations to:

a. The children of illiterate southern mountain whites. Indicate one list of fairly correct, and another of decidedly incorrect, pronunciations acquired mainly from parents.

b. Repeat for children of continental (European) born Jews of low economic order.

c. Repeat, for southern born Negroes, migrated to northern cities.

d. Repeat for children of the rural northwest, of Scandinavian ancestry.

e. Repeat for a case (of parental sources) of your own choosing.

f. Between the ages of 10 and 18, some children seem to acquire mispronunciations, or their near equivalents in contractions, not from their parents—who may have given better example—but from their coterie or herd environments or from the "lingoes" of workers or others. Give (1) examples of pronunciations probably not affected by these conditions and (2) examples of bad effects which remain for schools to correct, among "smart set" girls or boys of cities.

g. Repeat (*f*) for factory workers, largely of foreign born ancestry.

h. Repeat (*f*) for rural persons of your acquaintance.

i. Repeat (*f*) for Negroes or some other case-type known to you.

2. Since pronunciations are learned so largely outside of schools it would seem to be very important that schools should systematically study the *language areas* in which mispronunciations are, for given social case-types, most likely to occur. Give examples of defects, and of desirable school procedures in correcting them involving:

a. The soundings of "th" in its two or more forms.

b. Of "wh."

c. Of terminal "ing."

d. Of the several "a" sounds.

e. Of "r" sounds.

f. Of five types of your own choosing (including contractions, elisions, etc.).

3. The present writer believes that oral reading as a prescribed study in grades 4 to 7 is a very ineffective and wasteful method of teaching pronunciation. If you have given considerable attention to this subject (i.e., methods of teaching pronunciation) and have strong convictions *against* or *supporting* the above contention, write the subject up. (Do not take it unless you already have thought extensively on it.)

4. All ordinary syntax for oral expression has been learned before school, or is being more deeply learned during school

years from extra-school sources. But schools usually have residual functions here, as in pronunciation, and among some sections of the population very extensive residual functions:

a. List ten syntactical collocations which in schools within your experience have nearly always been correctly used (collocations having five or more words).

b. List ten collocations frequently incorrectly used.

c. So far as the large majority of American adults are concerned, give ten examples of uses of pronouns in which *case* is seldom misused.

d. Five cases where misuse is infrequent and highly "disreputable."

e. Five cases of very common misuses which are now seldom reproved.

f. It is sometimes contended that correct uses of the subjunctive, of the nominative after "is," of the future perfect, and of idiomatic distinctions between shall and will (of future action) are fading out in American speech. What, in your opinion, should schools do about these matters—(1) for all pupils, (2) for the high I.Q. pupils, (3) and for those electing superior "English" writing courses in high schools.

5. Treating "moralities" as specific types of social behavior making for wholesome harmonious cooperations within small groups:

a. List ten species of "school moralities" which teachers must commonly work hard to obtain. (Distinguish three levels of schools—primary, intermediate and high.)

b. List ten species of "school immoralities" which will probably be much in evidence in schools which have largely gotten "out of control" (three levels to be represented).

c. List ten species of post-school, "working world" (not familial or sexal or religious) moralities for which teachers of pupils from 12 to 18 years of age feel vaguely that they ought to make some preparation, but as to best means and methods of doing so feel largely helpless.

6. Using the term "physical education" to include all systematic educative controls of environment, provision of incentives for learning, instructions, and trainings towards: prevention of disease (or accident) by self; prevention by resort to expert

service; conservation of general health; facilitation of normal growth of one hundred bodily organs and their functionings; and specific body training (of rare functioning except in sports?):

a. List ten species of disease or accident prevention which most American children coming to school at 6 years of age have already fairly well learned.

b. Ten which most of them have not learned because of parents' unawareness.

c. Ten types of resort to expert service which most 15-year-olds have already fairly well learned.

d. Five which they probably have not learned.

e. Ten types of fairly specific "general health conserving" activities which have been fairly well learned out of school by most American 12-year-olds.

f. Ten of which most are still probably fairly ignorant.

g. Ten of which they have knowledge enough, but very poor practise.

h. Ten specific types of bodily development which at 12 years of age have probably reached optimum standards in farm reared boys.

i. Ten in which probably considerable proportions of these farm-reared boys would show inadequacies promising harmful results later.

j. Ten "body development" adequacies in most city girls of 15 years of age.

k. Same, ten "shortages" which schools should help.

l. Are there any adult needs towards which high schools should give boys definite "physical training" (assuming already achieved normalcy of bodily development)?

m. Same, girls?

C. Problems for Efficient Educational Policy-Making

From the standpoint of an efficient system of education it is desirable to know regarding a particular social value (M): (*a*) How much of it is optimum for case-type N; (*b*) how much of its exercise is dependent upon the total learning of the individuals of case-type N; (*c*) how much of these learnings can probably accrue fairly well from non-school sources; and (*d*) what parts belong normally to school sources? But to give concrete applications to

these differentiations brings upon educators and other social workers many as yet largely unsolvable problems.

1. Case-situation analyses. Some of the aspects of these problems can be suggested by brief analyses of fairly extreme case situations.

a. The skillful practise of dentistry is, obviously, a "social good." But (1) no skills in it are necessary for most people; and (2) the skills in it are very necessary for case-type P (men and women who will probably practise dentistry as a vocation). Again: only a few of the qualities or powers peculiar to successful dentistry are to be learned outside of schools (let us assume, exceptional cleanliness of person; and, any others?). Hence dentistry must be learned: (1) in schools to optimum journeyman or mastership competency; and (2) subsequently, as "keeping up," by self-education.

b. A girl of I.Q. 120 enters high school. Her parents are exceptionally "literary," with a large home library. The girl is already widely read in excellent classical and current books, has deeply established reading and interpreting interests, tastes, and powers. Should or need the high school assume any responsibility for her further *literary* education? If she and her parents desire her exemption from all attendance on English literature classes will anything but the pedantry of "schoolmasters" and "schoolma'ams" say them nay?

c. In a large high school is offered an excellent one year's course in trigonometry. Should more than 1 per cent of pupils be advised to take it? Should not 90 per cent be prevented from taking it even if they desire to? Who in each case?

d. Because of public criticism a large school organizes a one lotment (thirty-hour) drill course in pronunciation, requiring all pupils to take it. Is this silly? What should be done?

e. The women's clubs of a certain city demand that the high school faculty, or selected ones from them, give courses in: (1) sexal knowledge; (2) sexal hygiene; and (3) sexal morality. The faculty reply: (1) Our biology teachers or physiology teachers can impart a great deal of knowledge about sex and its functions in the world of plants, animals, and humans. A few pupils would be interested, many would be bored, and a few would use the knowledge to feed salacious imaginations. (2) Our hygiene teachers can confidently teach the facts, and means of prevention, of two

specific infective sexal diseases. Beyond this, modern medicine is too uncertain, the territory too dark, for any effective teaching at present. (3) None of us knows *how* to teach sexal moralities. Does any one? Perhaps parents, perhaps confessors, perhaps religious leaders. But school teachers do not. (Your comments.)

2. Experience seems to show that in the full exercise of particular species of socially good behaviors are in some degree involved at least three fairly distinguishable types of elements: (*a*) motivations or desires; (*b*) knowledge or insight or understanding; and (*c*) habituations. It would seem that schools are often in a position to "teach" one or two of these sets of factors, but must leave other agencies to produce the other factors by educative processes or otherwise.

a. For example, schools can easily make children acquainted with the judgments or findings of medical authorities that "sleeping with open windows is excellent for the general health." But teachers may not know how or be able to produce active motivations for early stages of the advised practise—and still more difficult will it be for them to regulate the practises which will assure eventual habituations.

b. It would seem that in the past schools have been successful in teaching *some* patriotic ideals which have functioned as motivations—through songs, hero tales, recountal of the wrongs inflicted by enemies, and the like. But such schools could not at the time teach the *courses of action*, the *guiding knowledge appropriate* to specific emergencies as they might later arise.

c. Schools can train effectively in *skills of exercise application* the multiplication table or handwriting. But both motives for, and methods of, concrete application to specific working situations may have to be derived from other sources.

3. A great many specific or species-like eudemic situations are often subsumed under such genus-like classifications as "business honesty," "powers of concentration," "physical courage," piety, industriousness, loyalty, optimism, chastity (or sexal purity), self-control, charitableness, "keen powers of observation," generosity, and scores of others.

Laymen and educators tend often to be deceived by the seeming simplicity of these genus classifications. "If a man is loyal (or accurate, or truthful, or patient or farsighted or morally coura-

geous or affectionate or clean or resolute or punctilious) in *one* species of relationship of each generic kind is he not likely to show the same qualities in all or nearly all the other species situations?" "I could not love thee . . . so much, loved I not honor more." The complexities involved here can be indicated by a series of questions more or less answerable by the experience of each one of us.

a. Is not a man frequently very loyal to his gang and very disloyal to his city, his wife, his God?

b. May not a "cleaning woman" be most tidy in her paid-for-work, and untidy in her person?

c. A keenly observant entomologist may be excessively unobservant of dangers at street crossings.

d. Apparently a business man may by all ordinary standards be most scrupulous in one set of dealings (with fellow brokers, for example) and yet in very real ways be unscrupulous in other business relations.

e. An Eskimo will often have learned most extreme patience and precision in the use of seal-fishing processes and yet in other relations show neither of these traits in other than low degree.

f. A 17-year-old girl may have learned a high degree of meticulousness in the decoration of her face, and yet be crude and seemingly unteachable as regards meticulousness of speech or bodily movements.

g. Do not nearly all persons—certainly including hoboes, sailors, frontiersmen, mothers of small children,—often show very quick and sure *judgment* in certain situations and the reverse in others?

4. The problem of defining the residual educative functions of schools is commonly complicated by prevalent uncertainties as to "how much is enough." The economic "law of diminishing returns" surely applies to all learnings. Let us say that a youth has learned to spell accurately the three thousand most used words in the usual vocabularies of those among whom and for whom he is to produce written communication during the next ten years. What gains would result from learning the spelling of the next one thousand? A fifth or tenth thousand? What shall we accept as "optimum"—"best, all conditions considered"—legibility in penmanship? Speed in adding long columns? Quick recall (memorization) of names of Asiatic rivers? Range of

interpreting knowledge of Latin phrases in legal or other current usages? Range of classical English selections read? Acquaintance with current "wonders of chemistry"?

A boy comes to school from a home and play place environment which sets "fairly good" examples of English pronunciation and syntactical phrasings. How far has the school responsibilities conceivably of "gilding gold" or "painting the lily"? Need schools teach usual American high school pupils how "better" to dress or hold a fork or look at movies or communicate with peers or decorate cheeks or keep a bedroom in order?

CHAPTER VIII

PRODUCTION VERSUS UTILIZATION: AN IMPORTANT KEY TO THE INTERPRETATION OF SOCIAL VALUES FOR EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES

In this section are analyzed certain interpretations of social values, and especially of very dynamic tendencies in current social values, to which educators seem as yet largely oblivious. Since the meagerly analyzed experience of each one of us in this field is varied and extensive, it will prove valuable for each reader to begin by answering for himself the following questions:

A. Some Inductive Approaches

1. What is your vocation? In what special department of the world's work do you feel most capable of producing the maximum in quantity, and the best in quality, of useful service?

2. Can you repair watches? Grow wheat? Drive locomotives? Make shoes? Manufacture lead pencils? Erect houses? Print books? Perform dental service? Play an instrument in an orchestra? Why would it not have been well to educate you to do *all* these things?

3. Directly or indirectly are you a utilizer of: Newspaper editorials? Oranges? Oculist service? Sermons? Road building? Electric wiring? Bookbinding? Restaurant cooking? Weaving of cotton cloth? Street car motoring? Barbering? Why is it best for you and others *not* to attempt to produce *all* these services?

4. We are told that in the early stages of settlement, Mississippi Valley farmers *produced* nearly all the foods, clothing, shelter, defense against external enemies, social order (or government), vehicles, domestic animals, and other goods which their families *consumed* or *utilized*. They *imported* only guns, iron pots, bibles, and ammunition. Here, obviously, the *range* of *production* for the family group was nearly the same as its *range* of *utilization*,—although within the family the men specialized in one series of

producing activities, the women in another, and the children to some extent in a third.

In that same region do you think there now remain any farmers who make their own clothing? Build their own houses or vehicles? Undertake their own armed defense against predatory enemies? Why the changes?

5. Estimate the numbers of dentists now professionally at work in the United States. Estimate also the numbers of persons who use and pay for dental service.

6. How many persons, probably, in the United States make a living or as much as one-half their living *composing* music? How many probably *hear* some of that composed music each year—that is, in effect, utilize it?

7. Estimate the numbers of persons who in 1930 made most of their living by writing—i.e., producing—some kind of fiction. Estimate also the probable number who obtained some pleasure by utilizing—that is, reading—some of such fiction.

8. Can we or do we systematically *educate*—that is, train and instruct—young men and women to render *competent* dental service? By or through what agencies? Can we, or do we systematically *educate* people wisely to *choose* and use dental service? Through what agencies?

9. How could we educate young people to be *superior utilizers* of: Fruit in diet? Newspaper editorials? Services of public officials (chosen by the utilizers, at least in a democracy)? Working clothing? Religious music? Places for vacation travel? Poetry for personal spiritual elevation? Along which of these lines of utilization does it seem to you that we now educate somewhat successfully?

10. How many hours of specialized training are probably necessary to train an 18-year-old woman to be a "tolerably good cook" for persons of your standards of appreciation? How many hours of education (could it be called training?) might be necessary to make out of a 16-year-old a fairly good *appreciator* of such cooking?

11. Have you known any considerable number of persons to be educated to be *good novelists?* Have you known of thousands to be made fairly good *appreciators* of such novels?

12. Besides the *productive services* by which you earn a living, what other essentially *productive* work do you do? Separately consider: sharing in politics (as cooperative government, helping rear a family (except as mother and homemaker, whose primary vocation is usually that); helping cooperatively in religious observances; conducting good works of relief (charity); "being prepared" for defense against foreign foes (militia, R.O.T.C., etc.); helping cooperatively in entertainment (amateur music organizer, etc.); and others. Out of 8,760 hours per year, estimate number of hours: (*a*) you give to your vocation; and (*b*) to *all* the other *productive* activities mentioned.

13. Do you estimate that as a modern civilized utilizer you rather directly utilize each week the *productive* services of some thousands of specialized producers—barbers, bedmakers, editorial writers, locomotive drivers, bread bakers, chairmakers, shoemakers, music players, sermon preachers, electricians, tailors, soapmakers, coal-miners, fiction writers, spinach growers, reporters, medical men, architects?

14. Do you consider yourself a *superior utilizer*—that is, a discriminating and tasteful chooser, a humane demander or critic, a temperate consumer—of the products of the above services? Do you or should you *pay well* for them? Do you or can you take some *personal interest* in those who produce such products or services? (As a teacher do you "do unto others (in appreciation) what ye would that others should do unto you"?)

15. As a voting citizen what seem to you your primary and most feasible controls and other responsibilities for: your state's legislators; your Washington senators; your town's policemen; the officers in charge of prohibition enforcement; the personnel of the national navy? Are you in part responsible for the *choice* of these public servants? For *supervision* of their work? For *keeping* them *well paid* and *moderately commended* (for good work) or *blamed* (for poor work)? Can you interpret these responsibilities of yours as being *nearly like* your responsibilities for good buying (choosing) and good using of other services or goods?

B. Some Hypothetical Principles: Specialization of Production

1. Civilized human beings everywhere tend to *specialize* more and more in *productive* activities of economic goods and services.

a. In every village we see that one man serves his society and himself as a carpenter, another as a dentist, a third as a bookkeeper in a mercantile house. Among several young women workers, one may be a waitress, another a typist, a third a nurse, a fourth a primary school teacher.

b. Where machines are extensively employed in production, specialization goes much farther. Perhaps five hundred specialized mechanics, each operating particular types of tools, are required to make an automobile. The processes of making a pair of shoes are now subdivided among from fifty to two hundred specialized operatives according to the grade of the shoe. In the construction of an up-to-date city fireproof building scores of specialized workers are employed—steel frame mechanics, plumbers, electricians, stone masons, glaziers, steam fitters, plasterers, floor-layers, and painters—and hardly one of these, such as a plumber, or an electrician, makes the wares he uses, but rather installs the finished products made at factories by scores of specialists.

c. In tracing back to their sources complicated products like newspapers we soon discover that literally hundreds of writers, typesetters, pressmen, engravers, mailers, and distributors have had to cooperate in close teamwork to give us our two-cent paper.

d. No less complicated is the organization of hundreds of specialists—track-layers, engineers, brakemen, cooks, train dispatchers, telegraphers, switchmen, and others—whose work must be coordinated to make safe and speedy a thousand-mile railway journey for any one of us.

e. Certain forms of specialization rest on *geographical* or *regional* foundations. Only certain parts of the United States produce respectively oranges, copper, cotton, wheat, hard coal, gasoline, and white pine lumber. For somewhat different reasons we find specialized areas devoted to the production respectively of shoes, jewelry, furniture, carpets, glass, sewing machines, automobiles, and pottery. From distant lands come the coffee, rubber, tin, fine leather, silk, handmade rugs, and diamonds which Americans use in such large quantities.

2. Some of the most basic forms of specialization are very ancient:

a. Perhaps in families and clans a thousand centuries ago the young and strong men specialized in hunting and fighting both

enemy men and wild animals, whilst the mature women, taking no part in war or the chase, specialized in wood-gathering, water-carrying, cooking, and child care. Old or crippled men often took over the tasks of preparing fresh weapons for the hunters.

b. Early tillage or farming was almost certainly on a small or garden scale, developed largely by women, and now known as "hoe culture." But in the great Old World valleys where no hunting was left many men specialized in "plow culture" and the use of irrigation.

c. Pastoral or nomadic peoples, using such domestic animals as horses, camels, sheep, cattle, goats, swine, and reindeer, have specialized the herding and often the milking of such animals to the men and the care of the camps to the women. Somewhat similar conditions prevailed on all American frontiers from the first days of settlement.

3. Modern American agriculture tends everywhere to become specialized, especially along the lines of one or two "cash" or "selling" or "primary" crops.

a. And, though *some* diversification is often very desirable (for rotation of crop, or to use hill and valley soils, or to keep tools and labor properly employed for most of the months, or to transform grain into meat "on the spot," or to prevent "all eggs being in one basket," nevertheless much evidence could be cited to prove that very generally farming in the United States which makes the *most* money is the most specialized—as will appear when the production of apples, wool, corn, pork, lettuce, cranberries, potatoes, cotton, sugar, coffee, cantaloupes, oranges, beef, tobacco, and milk, is carefully studied.

b. Farming tends thus to specialize partly because of favorable local conditions of climate, soils, and markets, but also partly because of increased use of science in raising each product, of machines or domestic animals or buildings capable of being handled to advantage, and partly because so much of the present-day market for farm products is hundreds of miles distant from the source of the products; therefore, it becomes almost impracticable to send varied and small scale products from a multitude of farms.

4. Homemaking—here interpreted as the care of a few small children, the management of a small household, and such prepara-

tion of food, clothing, beds, educative entertainments, and such controls of social behaviors as can readily be associated with the custody of small children and their home—still remains in most parts of America seemingly one of the least specialized of vocations. The homemaker practises *many* arts—of cooking, clothing repair, simple education, bedmaking, health-maintaining, washing, sweeping, and perhaps gardening, poultry raising, food conserving, and clothing construction—and often each in turn within a few hours. Her vocation is highly *composite*. But, in an historic sense, factory, school, hospital, commercial amusement, and other forms of specialized service tend to remove and to perform on wholesale scales what were once domestic forms of production—as evidenced in cloth weaving, meat refrigeration, fruit canning, primary schooling, clothing making, bread baking, moving picture entertainments, and hospital care.

C. Some Hypothetical Principles: Generalization of Utilizations

1. Civilized human beings everywhere tend to *generalize* (that is, to expand and diversify) in utilizations of the services and the products of the services, of others.

a. Take any typical man and woman of our American urban middle classes. Their utilizations commonly include: watches, fountain pens, pocketknives, and pocketbooks; hats, shoes, coats, neckties; cereals, oranges, eggs, bread; street cars, automobiles, railway trains, boats; newspapers, magazines, dictionaries, novels; music, sermons, political speeches; houses, plumbing, electric lights, steam heat; chairs, rugs, beds; parks, streets, bridges; the direct personal services of barbers, waiters, laundresses, and tailors; the indirect personal services of policemen, street sweepers, and sanitarians; and scores of others.

b. The frontier farmer in America, already referred to, had relatively few utilizations. He depended on others to make his firearms, his bible and perhaps only a few other books, and his tinware. Directly or with the aid of his family he produced all his needed food (except a few condiments), his clothing, his housing, his wood, his water supply, his amusements. But he had no radio, no newspaper, no silken garments, no watch, no mirrors, no gasoline, no electric lights, no trains, no hotels, no plumbing.

c. But the occupants of American territory who antedated our frontier American farmers had still simpler utilizations.

They used no metal except a bit of copper until the whites came bringing the greatly desired steel knives and hatchets. They had, besides the dog, no domestic animals until the horses imported by the Spaniards spread upward from Mexico or the lower Mississippi. They had only a half dozen cultivated plants, among which were no fruits. Their desired articles of clothing, decoration, housing, and furnishing were few and simple. The white trader's glass beads, alcoholic liquors, bright silks, and mirrors greatly aroused their appetites for the novel, and easily debauched their tastes. Their religious and health needs were relatively simple. They typified the world's *savage* or *barbarian* standards of living—and they themselves produced nearly all which they desired or thought it important to utilize.

d. The modern progressive farmer is hardly behind his city cousin in the range and diversification in his utilization of articles and services not produced by himself or his household. Think of a prosperous American grower of oranges or apples, producing perhaps a net three to five thousand dollars worth of crop per year. He does not build his house, produce his own milk or meat, grow his own wheat, weave his own cloth, or construct his own vehicles. He buys newspapers, furniture, clocks, medical service, and fencing. Directly or indirectly he pays for specialists to build his roads, teach his children, repair his automobiles, and administer his religious services. Increasingly he and his children depend upon the purchased music of radio, the bought diversions of moving pictures, the tax-supported opportunities of public or circulating libraries.

e. It can easily happen that large proportions of the economic producers of America never consume *any* of their own product. Cotton growers, lumber-makers, coal-miners, furniture manufacturers, builders of business buildings, jewelry manufacturers, and hundreds of other types may sell into the market all of their own product.

2. This diversification of utilization is one of the deepest rooted tendencies in the modern world. Indeed, the demands created by it are the foundations of nearly all trade and commerce and in turn of specialization of production. When consumers want excellent carpentry or medical service or cloth or apples it pays producers of these things to specialize intensely in their production. For two thousand or more years the luxurious consumers of Europe were

willing to pay so well for the spices and silks and gems of the Orient that traders and navigators were willing to gamble with all sorts of hazards to get products to sell for these high prices. Social workers everywhere are striving to *raise the standards of living* of the poor and incompetent—which largely means inducing them to utilize more or better medical service, plumbing, foods, clothes, books, and recreations—for which, in the long run, they are expected to pay by more or better specialized service of their own.

3. Pressures towards widened or refined utilizations can be studied by each of us in his own desires and aspirations. Suppose you were unexpectedly to inherit an assured annual income of five thousand dollars. In what respects would your utilizations speedily expand—towards more travel, more books, richer clothes, more costly housing or vehicles, college for children, better medical service, more varied recreations, club membership, more fruit, a better residence section? Note how every department store, grocery, travel prospectus, and builders' catalogue tempts us to develop new wants, even to convince us of new needs.

D. Some Hypothetical Principles: Non-Economic Productive Activities

Let us estimate that of the 8,760 hours of the year the normal adult gives 3,000 to sleep, 2,400 to productive economic work, 1,000 to self-culture, and 1,360 to the miscellaneous needs of living (recreations, eating, shopping, bathing, etc.). This will leave 1,000 hours which we will estimate to be divided among *non-economic* productive activities somewhat as follows: sharing in cooperative religion, 300; sharing directly in rearing children, 300 for the father (this is usually a large part of the mother's vocation); in cooperative government, 100; in charity, 100; in cooperative defense, 100; and in cooperative entertainment, 100.

Of course few persons divide their non-working time as indicated here, but the hypothesis is submitted that if we were to take the schedules of 1,000 men from 30 to 50 years of age and average their segregations of time for various life functions the proportions would not vary greatly from those here submitted, except for the item of defense. Few men and no women now include this among their non-working performance duties in America (in Japan, France, etc., such service is, of course, obligatory), most of us

preferring to employ through our taxes specialized standing army and navy service.

But the proposed divisions will serve to bring into relief the significance and relative importance of the non-economic, and yet in a sense, productive or performance activities of large proportions of adults and for which, obviously, they can be *trained*, or *educated* no less than for their economic productive activities.

The following is submitted as an important hypothetical principle:

Within the fields of non-economic productive activities the tendency is everywhere towards the increasing substitution of employed vocational service for personal non-paid service.

a. We have already noted that tendency in militia or defense service.

b. In city churches not only is the minister a specialist, but, increasingly, singers, organists, pastors, and Sunday school teachers are employed and paid for their specialized services.

c. The administration of relief moves steadily towards employment of specialized social workers, community chest pooling of resources, institutional care of defectives, automobile transport and hospital or other relief of the sick, of orphans, etc.

d. Schools, even for children as young as 2 years of age, are increasingly proposed to aid mothers. Increasingly, too, the city father expects the wife and mother (as part of her vocation, of course) to relieve him of other than financial responsibilities for the upbringing of the children.

e. The commercialization of entertainment also proceeds apace. City families entertain guests in hotels, or hire caterers to provide food and decorations for receptions. Children are given money to go to movies. "Turning on the radio" takes the place of home initiated games, and singing and reading.

f. Even in politics we increasingly try to delegate our responsibilities by holding membership in "good government associations," by hiring service cooperatively to keep track of lax political administration and otherwise using expert service for what we ourselves can do only badly.

E. Some Hypothetical Principles: Non-Economic Avocations

Large proportions of adults give some time to certain kinds of *performance* activities, usually related closely to their recreations,

but in some cases related rather to their self-culture. We often call these "hobbies." Here we shall call them inclusively "avocations"—it being remembered that in them the amateur rather than the professional or other vocational spirit is in the ascendant. These avocations range from golf to gardening, from amateur craftsmanship in jewelry to amateur piano playing, from pigeon raising to amateur dramatics, from wild game hunting to mountain climbing, from amateur historical research to stamp collecting. Regarding avocations, this principle is submitted:

In proportion as the vocations of men are specialized and in proportion as hours of leisure are increased does it become important that increasing proportions of adults be educated in avocational idealism and in the selection and moderately absorbing pursuit of suitable avocations.

a. It may, for example, be of little importance that farmers should have avocations, so varied are the types of performance activities in which they engage in their vocations. But it may be of the utmost importance to the bookkeeper that he have an outdoor avocation for the sake of his health. It may be of the utmost importance to a primary school teacher to have an avocation that will bring her into social contact with others than children and women teachers. And it may be of much importance to homemakers that they have avocations making for self-culture.

b. In other words, to a large extent avocations should be complementary to, or compensatory for, the abnormal specializations of vocations. The best avocations for closely confined indoor workers should be out-of-doors; for people of cramped outdoor vocations, cultural and social; for persons vocationally restricted to one or no type of mind, culturally expansive.

c. Without careful sociological analysis we can easily fail to appreciate how far avocations have already developed among the more self-educating of adults from 30 to 60 years of age. We all know many amateur players of games—golf, tennis, billiards, etc. —and of music—vocalists, cornetists, violinists. Many women and some men become good amateur gardeners. Amateur craftsmanship in jewelry, fine woods, landscape painting, china painting, embroidery, lace-making, photography, and bookbinding is fairly common. Collecting avocations—stamps, rare books, prints, china, letters, orchids, butterflies, eggs, rare minerals, and

the like, are not uncommon. Frontier conditions once induced large proportions of American men to pursue hunting, fishing, and camping as absorbing avocations surviving from vocations, but conditions for the exercise of these seem to be becoming more difficult. Some persons make very successful hobbies of particular fields of reading—early state history, current poetry, Russian fiction, the Arthurian legends. Others become amateur astronomers, ornithologists, magicians, explorers, or archæologists.

d. The appetites so extensively developed in recent years among Americans, Australians, and other much urbanized or industrialized peoples for witnessing, but not actually participating in, prize fights, horse racing, baseball, rabbit coursing, cricket, and other similar spectacles could plausibly be interpreted as expressions of propensities for avocational pursuits which have become somewhat perverted for lack of more normal and wholesome outlets. The keen interests in scores and contestants, and the morbid desires to bet, aroused by these spectacles are clearly related to true avocational interests.

e. For many women, especially those bound into rather unstimulating environments by the homemaking or wage-earning vocations, women's clubs serve as very helpful avocational outlets—especially along cultural and social channels.

f. Americans should also realize with gratification to what degrees our increasing "vacation periods" serve as avocations. Most of the higher vocations now provide at least a month's vacation period. Large proportions of factory operatives get a two-weeks' period. These vacations, used for travel to Europe or the mountains, for residence on seashore or in a city (the latter for farmers), bring in their train much of the same effects as continuously pursued avocations.

F. Some Educational Implications: Postulates and Hypotheses

Of utmost, and as yet largely unrecognized, importance to determination of educational values, educational objectives, organization of curricula and courses, and adaptations of these to different ages, abilities, and other potentiality determining conditions of learners are the distinctions and tendencies analyzed above, namely:

a. The progressive specialization—narrowing of scope and

deepening of intensities—of the vocations of civilized men and women.

b. The progressive generalization—widening the scope, and in some ways superficializing the intensities—of the utilizing activities of civilized men and women.

c. Considerable tendencies also towards bringing under the control of commercialized specialization large proportions of the non-economic performance activities formerly claiming much of the time and energy of good members of society.

d. The increasing importance of wholesome compensatory avocations for workers vocationally specialized.

At this stage it will be practicable to indicate only with much brevity some of the educational implications of these basic sociological tendencies.

1. Since every type of human activity referred to in this analysis can be and has to be *learned*, it is theoretically possible to teach it—that is, to bring it under the purposive controls of educative processes.

2. Schools now exist which very competently educate for the performance of certain vocations—e.g., medical practise, airplane piloting, nursing, stenography, electrical engineering, navigation, and elementary school teaching. Theoretically it is possible and, in large proportions of cases, very desirable that well civilized societies should provide specialized schools to teach: nearly all of the one hundred or more vocations into which modern agriculture subdivides (dairy-farming, orange growing, poultry culture, etc.); the score or more, according to economic level and other conditions, into which homemaking subdivides; the thousand or more into which modern commerce or trade subdivides; and the three thousand or more into which modern manufacturing, mining, building and transport subdivide.

3. But all conditions of demand for labor, of increasing needs of general education, of increasing complexity of vocational participation, of the physiological (often bad) effects of youthful confinement to specialized work, and others point to the desirability of postponing to at least 17 years of age specific training for junior or juvenile vocations, to 20 years of age specific training for the operative or journeyman vocations, and to 25 years of age training for the mastership vocations—and that for

each distinctive vocation its own centrally located full-time school should be provided to the extent of from one to ten in each populous state.

4. For a variety of reasons too complex to be analyzed here: (*a*) general education, so far as it is dependent upon teachers and schools, should be largely completed before vocational education is begun (of course the right type of person will continue self-education of general kinds all his days); and (*b*) vocational education, once begun, should be on a full-time—e.g., forty-eight hours per week—basis, divided between for example, nine-tenths of time to practical participation in skill enhancing commercial work in the more *manual* vocations (e.g., barbering, bricklaying) to one-half of time to such practical participations, and the remainder to demonstrably "related" studies.

5. *Cultural educations* should be much more largely than at present interpreted as including a wide range of educations towards *superior utilizations*. The cultured woman in music need not compose or perform music, but she must be appreciative of, and desirous of, the fine things in music. The cultivated mind in literature may write nothing, but it must be widely informed, discriminatingly critical, and have superior appreciations of the good in literature. The woman capable of making a cultured home need not make rugs or furniture, but she must choose with superior taste among such products made by others.

6. The academic type of mind will probably for some years to come wish to try to produce superior powers of utilization by *training* the learner in early or crude stages of *production*. Thus everywhere today school teachers wish to produce superior discriminations of form and color (in graphic and plastic arts) by elementary drawing, designing, modelling and other elemental producing activities. Similar methods are used in music, and were formerly used in literature.

These academic approaches are probably all wrong—uneconomical, empty of good results, and psychologically unsound.

7. Yet it must be recognized that we know very little yet as to the sound pedagogy—that is, the best methods—of teaching or otherwise educating in superior, tasteful, elevated utilizations.

We recognize all about us persons of obviously superior cultural tastes, intellectual and æsthetic appreciations, high-grade utiliz-

ing powers—for poetry or music, for natural scenery or paintings, for clothes or furniture, for manners or architecture, for fiction or history—but we hardly know at all "how they got that way." Certainly the ordinary run of high school education seems to have contributed little to these superior appreciations, and the usual liberal college courses perhaps still less.

8. But, obviously, if the cultural educations of the future are to be designed in large part to produce elevated and enduring spirital intellectual appreciations and interests—in astronomy, ornithology, the natural sciences generally, the histories, the social sciences—and elevated and enduring spirital æsthetic appreciations and interests—in music, poetry, painting, sculpture, architecture, scenery—and elevated and enduring good tastes and fine judgments in our euthenic utilizations—of clothes, jewelry, foods, furniture, personal decorations, parks, vehicles, recreations—these educations cannot take time to have the children imitate performance activities in these hundreds of fields. They will have to learn by more direct methods—as we all now learn to appreciate good cooking or magazines or orchestra music or clothes ourselves without sharing in the actual production of these good things.

9. To the extent that school educations—from the first grade through college—undertake to educate towards superior performance powers in the non-economic productive activities of normal civilized life—voting, worshipping, rearing of children (by father), charity or relief, defense, and entertainment—it will be essential that policy-makers here as elsewhere devote much energy to the scientific determination of actually functional processes and from these determinations derive really functional educations. These non-economic activities are obviously undergoing profound modifications in modern urban and progressive farm life.

10. It would probably be greatly to the advantage of our urbanized societies, and probably of our ruralized societies as well, that junior and senior high schools, for example, should much more competently than at present *idealize* avocational activities, *train* in the early stages of many, and *give guidance* as to desirable changes and substitutions as age increases or vocational or residential conditions change.

For example, the sports of our secondary schools are now good for youth, but may yield but slight foundations for ten or twenty years later—when, for example, married women cannot play tennis or artisan men football. Again, our extra-curricular activities occasionally establish beginnings of enduring musical, literary, natural history, or other avocations. But present objectives here seem too opportunistic and weakly idealized.

G. Some Problems for Estimational Consideration

Towards the complete solution of the problems suggested below neither adequate *data*, basic psychological principles, nor social *criteria* of values are yet available. Nevertheless, about many of them each one of us has *opinions*, and to varying extents these opinions are justified because of the experiences of ourselves personally and those of others by whom they have been communicated to us. Largely on the basis of opinions like ours the world has progressed to its present certainly very high level (in places).

But the opinions of any one of us can be hastily, impulsively, and even prejudicially formed, or in making them we can carefully and coolly analyze all accessible data, we can try to control our impulses and to subordinate our already established attitudes, preferences, and valuations, and we can search widely for larger or more basic guiding principles. We can weigh evidence, let our inferences be formed as inductively as practicable, make sober and careful estimates. Your answers to the problems below will, therefore, be expected to be made through use of the best *estimational analysis* of which you are capable:

1. The best cultural education now given in American public schools is the teaching of literature in grades 5 to 8 inclusive—including under teaching, of course, all use of library books, school inspired home reading, etc. (Your comments.)

2. What is the evidence that the (graphic) art instructions and trainings of our better urban schools *function* in the improved tastes in dress of young or mature men? Of young or mature women? Should we expect such functionings as one valued outcome of art teaching?

3. Are Americans generally intelligent *utilizers* of automobiles—that is, discriminating buyers, demanders of superior utilitarian and æsthetic excellence, and appreciative interpreters of the

functions of automobiles in modern life? How have they acquired the superior traits which you find? To what do you attribute their inferiorities? As respects these utilizing qualities would you make important distinctions between: men and women; young and old; prosperous and poor; foreign born and native born; well schooled and poorly schooled; rural and urban? (Do you find any points of similarity or close analogy between present widespread interests in, and tastes for, automobiles in America and: Greek interest in sculpture; mediæval interests in fine churches; American interests (1700–1876) in fine houses; Arabian interests in fine rugs; and Renaissance interests in fine craftsmanship?)

4. What are the commonly alleged purposes of teaching "general (natural) science" in the 8th or 9th grade? Suppose we tried to organize such a course by leaving out all matter which might have any health-conserving significance, or prevocational significance, or civic (sanitary) (economic insight) significance. This process might leave as our sole remaining purpose "knowledge for its own sake" (or the satisfaction of strong curiosities, or the further arousal of "interests in the wonderful," or "being thrilled by the romances of nature"). In such a course would there probably be important places for such topics as: volcanoes; the composition of the stars; the romance of aniline dyestuffs; the wonders of explosives as means of work; how coal and oil came into the earth; the evolution of the horse; how cameras work; probable interior heat of the earth; man's probable ancestry of five million years ago; and a thousand other similar topics?

5. Propose a list of what seem to you superior avocations for city working men and women more than 30 years old—preferably more than 40 years old. Propose adaptations in these for: men and women; women homemakers, and women factory operatives; the prosperous and the poor; women with no families and those with fairly large families; persons entitled to four weeks' vacation, and those having none; those who have access to suburbs with moderately priced land, and those forced to live in apartments of five or more stories. Relate them also somewhat to types of vocations being followed—e.g., indoor or outdoor, heavy manual or light manual (e.g., machine tending), alone or with many other persons.

6. Assume that in the schools of a city it was determined to devote fifty hours somewhere in grades 7 to 10, but preferably for all girls at 15 to 16 years of age, to producing superior utilizers' tastes in all the interior furnishings of homes—rugs, furniture, mantels, lighting fixtures, kitchen utensils, table silver, table china, curtains, bookshelves, wall papers (or other means of similar purpose), bed covers, toilet accessories, etc. Propose (*a*) some guiding principles, (*b*) some samples of educative procedure, (*c*) some specific expected outcomes, and (*d*) means of measuring outcomes—which you now estimate to be practicable and desirable.

7. Assume that in several high schools of from 60 to 200 pupils, it was determined to try to make, as the central "cultural" course, a six lotment course (180 clock hours) in "current events" designed to produce "the generally well informed youth" (or man or woman eventually). Propose (*a*) some guiding principles, (*b*) some educative procedures, (*c*) some adaptations to different sexes, abilities, interests, or other conditions, and (*d*) some expected outcomes, such as would seem justified by your experience.

8. Nearly all Americans now care for and extensively use "music"—radioed music, popular music, jazzy music, etc. (*a*) What seem to you exceedingly commendable qualities in these nation-wide interests? (*b*) What seem to you regrettable shortages, defects? (*c*) What would be some of your proposed remedies?

CHAPTER IX

DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN PROXIMATE AND DEFERRED FUNCTIONINGS

A. Approaches Through Interpretations of Personal Experience

1. Some human beings seem to pay relatively little attention to the future, whilst others think a great deal about it. Explain and evaluate these differences of attitudes and practises in the cases of:

a. One-year-old children.

b. Sincere believers holding "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"

c. The kind of men from 17 to 22 years of age who get sentenced to our state prisons.

d. Typical farmers' sons 14 years of age.

e. Typical American farmers 40 years of age.

f. The men of Massachusetts of 1860 who went into the Civil War.

g. The mothers of our most prosperous one-third of American families.

2. Assume yourself at 24 years of age having an income of $30 per week for 40 weeks per year. If a man, you are planning to get married soon. If a woman, you have "hopes" but no well defined expectations as yet. So far you have had a "bachelor's degree" education, are well started in your work, have no savings, and are fond of good clothes, travel, etc. From the standpoint of your present wisdom:

a. In what ways and to what extent should you now spend all, or part, of your income for *present* needs and other satisfactions?

b. In what ways and to what extent should you now invest or save your income, and for what "deferred values"?

c. For a woman at this age to put a relatively large proportion of her income into "beautification"—would that probably be an investment? Probably a wise investment?

d. For a young man to put much into conviviality and other

"good times" with associates—would that probably be an investment? A good one?

3. The parents and teachers of a class of boys 10–12 years of age can, if they work hard at it, induce or coerce these boys into becoming fairly skillful and accurate in the uses of multiplication, long division, and their applications to denominate numbers of length, surface, volume, and weights. But the boys will do much of the learning unwillingly, being eager to engage in more interesting out-of-school or in-school pursuits.

a. Are these learnings to be regarded as having real "proximate" values to the learners?

b. Have they important deferred values? In what kinds of functionings?

c. Assuming that to learnings like these in requiring effort and lack of "intrinsic" interest the school allots an average of three hours per day, fifteen per week, or 540 hours per year, and that the boys are normally healthy, do you apprehend serious proximate losses or deprivations—of health, morale, general development, rich experience?

4. The guardian of an orphaned youth 18 years of age has discretionary authority over $6,000 to which the youth is entitled. The guardian can invest this principal in a life annuity or he can use it to send the youth for four years to a good college; or he can let the youth have it at the rate of $200 a month (which the boy wants) in order "to have a good time." Which would seem to you the wiser course for the guardian, on the assumption that the youth:

a. Was an able-minded boy of good character and very thoughtful, and would certainly inherit no more money?

b. Was a boy of I.Q. 90, of poor scholastic record, and averse to hard work?

c. Was a cripple of fairly low mentality, and never would be able to do heavy outdoor work?

d. Was a very normal, fun-loving youth who would certainly inherit a considerable fortune later?

5. The parents of a boy 14 years of age have several educational options open to them. They can send the boy to fairly rigorous college preparatory schools, or to equally rigorous trade or other vocational schools. Or they can send him to a school in

which no emphasis is placed on deferred values, but a highly growth-fostering educative environment is maintained—much sports, much general reading, much amateur project work, an abundance of music, social group activities, explorations of nature, etc. Or they can keep the boy out of school until he is 18 or 20 years of age, travelling and camping with them in various parts of the United States and Canada—the travel to include much hunting and fishing, winter sports, and motoring. The boy eagerly prefers the last option, and if that is unobtainable, the third. But he is strongly averse to entering any schools of the first type. What would seem to you the wiser course for the parents, assuming that the boy:

a. Has excellent native intellectual abilities, but because of invalidism of father, must expect to be self-supporting by 20 years of age?

b. Is of very average mental powers and has made poor work of all his schooling thus far?

c. Is of high intellectual ability and shows distinct artistic talents, but dislikes school companionship, teacher controls, and has acquired deep aversions to indoor work and to any professional work?

6. The useful work of the world can be variously subdivided under such heads as: economic production for wages or salary; voluntary work in raising families; voluntary or paid work in national defense (not including camp training for that); cooperative work in keeping up religious agencies; cooperative work in politics; cooperative work in charity; and the like.

To what extent do American practises and approved standards require, induce, or permit sharing in any one type of these productive services:

a. By children from 8 to 12 years of age?

b. By children from 16 to 19 years of age of families in low economic circumstances?

c. By children of highest one-third of intelligence and of prosperous or wealthy parents?

7. Assume the case of an American boy of highest one-third intelligence, expecting to begin commercial work on leaving high school. It is to be expected, of course, that in time he will rise in some field of commercial work, will raise a family, will share

moderately in politics, will take some cooperative work in his church, will give help to the distressed, and, in case of need, will enter army or navy or some related defense work. As utilizer we should expect him to live up to the highest one-third of American euthenic and spiritual cultural standards.

In his high school he is giving much attention in the third and fourth years to: history studies; written composition and English literature studies; physics and chemistry; and French. No one of these studies arouses his enthusiasm, but in a perfunctory way he is doing B-grade work in all of them.

Towards what aspects of his later life are these studies probably somewhat preparatory? When he has reached 30 or 40 years of age what will probably be his valuations of them? Assuming that the school offers no definitely vocational work, what *other* studies would you like to see instead of the above?

8. Under conditions of stable environment—i.e., where several generations remain in the same region and there is little immigration or emigration—a range of games, sports, children's legends, and the like become customary, passing down at each age level indefinitely. Let us think of marbles, kites, dolls, baseball, tops, scooters, collecting, as typifying these in our day, but recalling that under different conditions game snaring, stream bathing, imitation warfare activities, horseback riding, folk dancing, tattooing (or its simple equivalent, body painting and scarring), nut hunting, berry gathering, bird's-nest hunting, rodent hunting, and hundreds of others, sometimes of semi-useful nature (as berrying and fishing) have prevailed intensely (available records seem to indicate far greater development of such pursuits among boys than among girls).

Where much shifting of peoples takes place, the customs and incentives for these youthful play pursuits are often lost—as can be seen in many a freshly settled suburban section. So far as you can now estimate:

a. Have these games (e.g., marbles, kites, scooting, baseball, dolls) had large immediate or proximate values for children?

b. Could you differentiate these values—e.g., body developmental, social, intellectual, moral, prevocational, cultural? Use specific games as illustrative.

c. Have these games now any deferred values of a specific nature, do you think? If so, what kinds?

d. Did they probably have important deferred values under more primitive cultural or economic conditions?

e. A large junior high school includes among its boys some hundreds who will probably enter commercial vocations in manhood. These boys are now to take up manual arts—woodworking, printing, pottery, electric wiring, forging. The enthusiastic principal wants to add rabbit hunting, stream fishing, wild nut gathering, tree chopping, and gardening as manual arts to the extent that his favorable environment permits. What seem to you the values involved here? Are they primarily proximate or deferred? In what respects, if any, will much sharing in these activities—perhaps ten hours a week—make for richer childhood? For more effective adulthood?

B. Some Postulates and Hypotheses as to Deferred Versus Proximate Functionings

1. The more highly civilized adult human beings become the more they take account of deferred values. They save now for the futures of themselves and their dependents. They seek to conserve natural resources for the generations which are to follow. They erect buildings and build railways to endure several generations. Many of them tend to develop stoic or Christian philosophies of mundane and post-mundane life, based upon assumed immortality of the soul and upon beliefs that the well-being of the soul in post-mortal life will be conditioned to a degree by what has been planned for and accomplished in this world.

2. The other men of primitive culture, of uncontrollable appetites, or of little imagination tend to live largely in the present. What they earn today they spend today. They plan little for tomorrow or for old age. In so far as they have been taught about post-mortal existence they accept its implications half-heartedly, self-centeredly. "Eat, drink, and be merry, for tomorrow we die" becomes their self-indulgent philosophy. They spend and indulge and marry and fight impulsively, irresponsibly.

3. Wise men and women do not expect little children to be disposed to plan or capable of planning their futures. They expect them to live naturally, that is, impulsively, naïvely, instinctively, with no considerable straining, preoccupations after the future,

self-consciousness as to the remoter consequences of their actions, or serious concern with long-time planning.

4. On the other hand, such wise parents seek to maintain environmental conditions which will, to the maximum, promote and conserve *wholesome* growths and keep far removed *unwholesome* conditions—wholesomeness and unwholesomeness of such physiological, moral, cultural, religious, and other kinds as these parents interpret it, of course. In eating, drinking, and social intercourse they seek to maintain simplicity, temperance, cleanliness. They seek to prevent premature arousal of sexal impulses. They seek to ward off not only infectious physical diseases, but also the diseases of obscene speech, superstitious religious beliefs, racial or other social antagonisms, and degrading cultural indulgences. These wholesome growth-conserving elders would, of course, pursue some corresponding purposes with cherished domestic animals, trees, and fields. (And, of course, there always have been and will be large possibilities of *miscalculation*, of *too intense pursuit* of unbalanced programs of good ends, of *too much haste* to procure results.)

5. All well developed types of education throughout history have expressed the purposes of elders, parents, or others, thus to plan for the futures of children, of young generations, and of the collective institutions through which these young persons and their fellows are later to realize their maximum well-being. (And, of course, these educative systems may at times stress one type of good excessively at the expense of others. They may educate too much for *personal* welfare, and too little for state or other collective welfare—or vice versa. They may stress intellectual, to the sacrifice of health, powers or vice versa.)

6. At the ages of 10 to 12 years we expect young people to plan their futures and to work for deferred values hardly at all. But at 25 or 30 years of age we expect them very largely to do so. Hence during the maturing 15 or more years between these two stages young persons growing up in highly civilized societies will be expected to learn much as to personal exercise of these responsibilities. Means and methods of assuring such learnings, either through schools, through more or less enforced independence of homes, through permitted experimentations with enlarged responsibilities, are still of obscure and uncertain kinds.

7. The spontaneous activities of children we call *play*. Many adult activities we also call play, and it is characteristic of poorly disciplined and self-indulgent adults that they want to play much and work little. The two pronounced characteristics of *play* activities are: (*a*) that they are intrinsically agreeable, congenial, attractive, interesting; and (*b*) that they are rarely designed to produce a considerable economic result. *Work* activities on the other hand: (*a*) are designed to produce an immediate or remote valuable return, commonly (but not invariably) of an economic kind; and (*b*) in all but their early stages do not commonly possess an intrinsic, but rather an extrinsic, interest or attractiveness. A very few kinds of *productive work*, either closely allied to ancient instincts (e.g., hunting, war) or else calling out in full measure inventive, so-called creative powers, social applause-evoking or deity-serving (missionary) activities, seem often to prove to their executants intrinsically interesting. But the bulk of the world's routine work—wheat growing, dish washing, coal-mining, machine tending, fruit packing, bricklaying, truck driving, dental work, elementary school teaching, nursing of the sick, hack story-writing —possesses for the workers, not intrinsic, but derivative or projected or indirect interests—the intrinsic interests being in the support of self and family to result, the social approval to be assured, the financial independence and self-respect to be won, through the *products* of such work. (It is suggested that close social psychological analysis will also show that often the interests of the singer, the painter, the novelist, the preacher, the college teacher, and others, like the interests of commercial competitive game players, may well be extrinsic, too—that is, intrinsic in the social applause, the evidence of winning.)

If the foregoing hypothesis is sound it suggests that during adolescence wise educational systems will expect increasing investments of time and efforts of learners in activities which are not necessarily as *intrinsically interesting* as others in which the learners could engage—and that such learners will be increasingly instructed and otherwise induced to focus motivating attentions upon deferred gains, the valued ends to which the expected learning work is a probable *means*.

8. There are strong probabilities, indeed, that every advance in the world's economic production towards prearranged, specialized, and systematized routines operates steadily to diminish such

intrinsic interests as were once inherent in the largely instinct-based activities of our pre-human or early human ancestors. Certainly the burdens of tillage with heavy stone tools must always have seemed terrible drudgery to game-hunting, war-loving, cattle-herding young men (and it is noteworthy that as long as possible men relegated tillage to women and pursued even simulated hunting and combat themselves). Clearly, every advance in specialized factory production, when the worker cannot even have the satisfaction of seeing his finished product pass into the hands of the ultimate consumer, must subtract from intrinsic interest in work processes themselves, and force the vital worker to increase the satisfactions derivable from the personal leisure and comfort, the contemplation of secure and well supported wife and children, the respect always given by neighbors to the industrious and thrifty man, and the prospects of a protected old age—all of which, considering multiplications of population, are increasingly assured by highly mechanized and standardized methods of production. (Obviously, one of the important consequences of this for educators is the responsibility of intelligently motivating learners to take wholesome satisfactions from contemplation of *deferred values* of their efforts.)

C. Some Hypothetical Principles—Perhaps Fitting into a Prospective Scientific Ethics or Calculus of Human Values

1. The valuable ends, the values of human life can provisionally be grouped into two main categories: (*a*) those of proximate, and (*b*) those of deferred functional climax of optimum intensity; and each of these into (a_1, b_1,) those of largely personal satisfaction, and (a_2, b_2) those of largely collective or eudemic satisfaction. (Of course none of these classifications are discontinuous, but rather are like distinctions between *hot* and *cold*, *large* and *small*.)

2. In early childhood (e.g., less than 10 years of age) it is natural and good that the activities of the young (*a*) should be very largely for proximate functionings and satisfactions (subject to moderate environmental control towards wholesomeness by elders), and (*b*) should be largely for personal rather than social, or at any rate, extra-household and child-neighborhood, functionings.

3. In full-fledged adulthood (e.g., after 30 years of age) it is eudemically right, even if considerably removed from innate impulse, that a person's activities should be fairly consciously subdivided as to their expected functionings, perhaps in somewhat equal proportions to the ends of (*a*) the proximate personal satisfactions, (*b*) the deferred personal satisfactions, (*c*) the proximate eudemic functionings, and (*d*) the deferred eudemic functionings. The eudemic functionings will, obviously, have to be distributed among the many social groups in which the individual has membership—from family to nation, from partner to deity, from neighborhood to world community.

4. In the early transition years from childhood to adulthood—e.g., 12 to 18 years—it is natural and probably conducive to ripened personality that substantial proportions—shall we say 70 per cent in earliest years and 60 per cent in latest?—of all the activities of youth should be for personal rather than social ends, and for proximate rather than deferred value functionings. But towards the making of the rounded societal member it is essential that the remaining proportions of his activities should be made very purposefully functional (shall we estimate in the proportions of 4, 2, and 1?) towards (*a*) deferred personal values, (*b*) proximate social values (mostly in small group relations) and (*c*) deferred eudemic (usually large group) values.

5. In the late transition years (e.g., 18 to 28 years) it is eudemically desirable that the person shall "put aside childish things" and in measured ways use the bulk of his energies, perhaps in the proportions of 4, 4, 3, 2, for proximate personal satisfactions, proximate eudemic functionings (with large group relations in progressive ascendency), deferred personal functionings, and deferred eudemic functionings (in which family and state will take priority).

CHAPTER X

THE PHYSICAL WELL-BEING COMPETENCIES OF HUMAN BEINGS AS SOURCES OF EDUCATIONAL VALUES

A. Some Interpretations of Experience

1. It is sometimes mystically said: "We do not know what *health* is." But common experience and common sense know better.

a. Describe two or three kinds of common, and a couple of uncommon, kinds of "unhealth" (disease, sickness, accident, non-functioning) to which human teeth and their closely allied glands, bony matrices and tissues are subject. (In all discussions here "accidents" will be included among physical disorders, diseases, etc.)

b. What are the supposed purposes of regular teeth brushing (or other cleansing) throughout childhood? The use of "pastes"? So far as you know, are these effective?

c. What do you now know or believe regarding *decay* of teeth—causes, preventions, cures?

d. For many hundreds of millennia our ancestors lived on uncooked foods. Probably it was during that period that the organs of our bodies took their present functioning sizes, strengths, automatic means of conservation, etc. What probably true statements can you make concerning overwork or underwork of teeth since man became a fire-using, food-cooking animal? Since, by means of domestication of animals, tillage of plants, using of grinding machineries, etc., he has been able to produce greatly concentrated, energy giving foods?

e. If, as the present writer believes, *underwork* of teeth is the great source of decay of teeth—and especially underwork from ages 2–16—what are some things which might be done about it? (The underwork referred to may produce its chief harm not directly on the teeth themselves but on the matrixing jaws, their allied tissues, their nurturing—including self-cleansing glands, etc.)

f. Make a brief but concretely expressive list of things which

schools could, so far as you now see, reliably teach children from 9 to 16 years of age about the preservation of the teeth.

g. Make a list also of the superstitions, the wrong beliefs, about teeth and teeth decay against which they should be forewarned. (The writer thinks that some of the students' present beliefs are superstitions.)

2. Have you "healthy" feet? Have most Americans? To what kinds of ill health, "unhealth," disease, accident, are feet subject? Very large percentages of men from 18–30 years of age were rejected from volunteer or draft service in the World War because of "defects" of feet. What kinds? Due to what?

a. Briefly digest the reliable facts or ideals or habits which you believe should be taught young persons, 8–16 years of age, about ill health of feet?

b. To what kinds of pulls, strains, pushes, blows, pressures, tensions, resistances, etc., are subjected the feet of boys 10 years of age who have never worn shoes, who live in hilly, rocky, brush-covered country, and who herd cattle several hours a day, and do much cliff and tree climbing for play? (True of large proportions of primitive peoples, and largely of our pioneering forefathers.) Are these conditions favorable to foot-health in colder latitudes? What condition in hookworm zone (from 30 degrees north to 30 degrees south latitudes) would have to be guarded against?

c. Assume one of your hands to be kept during working hours in a close fitting mitten and used much as a fist-like "unit," but hardly at all as a flexible instrument—what would be probable effects?

d. A keen German physician once said to the writer: "Thirty per cent of all Americans suffer in middle years from arch trouble or weak feet, which is largely an American disease. And it is primarily due to the excellence of fit of your well made shoes." Can you interpret his meaning?

e. In the event that it should prove that much wearing of well fitting shoes in years 3–16 causes serious *underwork* of many internal functionings of bones, tendons, ligaments, secretions, etc., and causes *overwork* of the bound foot as a kind of stub or "unit," what "hygiene instruction," what "body growth" activities, and what other regimens would you now hypothetically propose for these years?

3. A large part of modern hygiene addresses itself, not primarily to the prevention of specific disease or accident, but to the persistent maintenance of good health in general—that is, good bodily vigor, involving, presumably, good nurture, good elimination, good exercise, etc., and these more specifically depending on good choices of food, good eating practises, good sleeping and waking rest practises, good recreations, good emotional practises, good posture practises.

Out of this reservoir of hygienic science, general knowledge, hypothesis, belief, hope, superstition, and fad (all are there) our more progressive school systems have selected for teaching at various grade levels a varied content—perhaps still open to the criticism that much of it has vague objectives, much of it is aspirational, and there is too much repetition in the "spiraled" instructional processes. Progressively we shall develop clearer and better validated objectives for this valuable department of physical education. But before we do so a variety of problems must be solved in getting away from the excessively aspirational assumptions now underlying much of "general health" promotion.

a. Assume the cases of 100 adults who in general health would now grade A in a medical examination, and another 100 who would, let us assume, grade C. So far as present medical science extends, would the second group be more likely to contract diseases than the first? Or fall victims to accidents? More specifically, will the C class more readily than the A class be infected, if exposed, by: typhoid; yellow fever; tuberculosis; pneumonia; smallpox (vaccinations equal for both groups); septicæmic poisoning of wounds; influenza or "grippe"; tonsillitis; hookworm?

Again: will the second group considerably more than the first be subject to the "rheumatic" complaints—lumbago, neuritis, sciatica, articular rheumatism, muscular rheumatism—assuming equality of exposure and working conditions?

b. Will the second group be more subject, probably, than the first to later contractions of kidney diseases (always assuming that the defects or disabilities which put them in the C class are not of this specific kind)? To arterial diseases? To corns? To decay of teeth? To overstrain of eyes?

Will the A class be less likely to contract common colds? Or, if not, will they probably be much less disabled by them?

Will the A class be less subject to automobile accidents? To factory accidents? To strains due to overwork or injudicious use of muscles?

Would 100 women of the A class, other things being equal except general health, be probably less subject to dangers and sufferings in motherhood? In gestation? In parturition?

Would 100 men of the A class be substantially less tempted than 100 men of the C class to immoderate alcoholic indulgence? Narcotic drug indulgence?

Would the C class suffer more from arch trouble? Writer's or pianist's "cramp"? Approaching deafness? Appendicitis?

The trend of the above questions is to seek light on this general problem: Under what conditions and to what degrees does good "general" health constitute a valuable "resistance" to specific diseases or accidents?

4. Assume for large proportions of youths what we mean by "fairly normal" heredity. Assume all to have "fairly normal" growth or developmental conditions from conception to 20 years of age. Should we expect that nearly all of these persons will show, at the age of 20, normal bodies—that is, normal heights, weights, strengths of large muscles, flexibilities of muscular coordinations, hearts, lungs, glands, eliminating organs, teeth, bones, etc.?

Assume, now, that a series of schools, affecting ages 6–20, should include "body growth promoting" functions or objectives in its total scheme of physical education, that specialists in such schools study not only individuals but environmental classes in order to determine specific objectives. Give your estimates and proposals in answer to these questions:

a. What actual or potential growth shortages are they likely to find considerably prevalent among boys from prosperous suburban homes, at ages 9–16? (Assume that these boys spend six to eight weeks each summer in lake or mountain camp.)

b. Same, girls?

c. Same, boys from dairy farms in rather good milk-producing region, parents not prosperous?

d. Same, girls?

e. Boys, sons of factory workers, largely foreign born, fair economic condition, but factory town not "crowded"?

f. Same, girls?

g. Among 1,000 boys 14 to 17 years old in a large urban high school are 100 who are as a rule intellectually keen, much given to reading, and averse to outdoor sports (a considerable number are of Jewish parentage). What actual or potential "body growth shortages" would you expect to be fairly prevalent?

h. Same, girls?

i. The medical examiner of a large junior high school finds a well grown boy to have a "weak heart." He is debarred from all sports. The parents indignantly assert that the school has a peculiarly large responsibility for his bodily development. Propose an appropriate school offering for his kind.

j. Several girls in a large school are tall and very thin and by school standards have ungainly postures. Should the department of physical education do anything for them? What?

k. The present writer believes that for optimum body development of urban youth some 600 to 1,500 hours "physical work" (primarily "big muscle work in open air") should be enforced each year, and that for obscure reasons, probably explainable only in terms of racial evolutions for the years 1,000,000 B.C. to A.D. 1500, the girls need it far more than the boys. The "body developmental" effects of such work (including especially "energy storages," endurances, etc.), it is held, cannot come from any sports as we now know them. Ignoring present difficulties of providing such work, what are your opinions as to its need?

l. Some physicians have told the present writer that sickeningly large proportions of America's economically and culturally "superior" women—the kind especially who go through high school and often into colleges—are not more than "half" healthy between years 28–30 and 60—that is, they have low reserves of energy, are easily tired, are nervous, have defective eliminative operations (stasis), do not sleep well, have easily fatigued feet and backs, tend on normal diet to be overweight, etc. (Your comment —and some suggestions for regimens at the years from 8 to 20 which will prevent these conditions if they are as bad as painted.)

5. (To be taken only by the well informed) Probably at all times foolish or useless "fads" develop in body-developmental educations. Under each of these heads make comments as to past and present "fads" (if any, in your estimation): "turnverein gymnastics"; callisthenics; gymnasiums for girls; basketball competitions for girls; school-desk postures; starring in competitive

sports; "height and weight" tests of nurtural conditions; highly developed equipment for sports (running, rowing, swimming, golf instead of hiking, etc.).

(Only for the *medically* well informed) In what respects do the changing demands of fashion, and especially of those affecting courtship relations of young women, seriously conflict (in changing ways) with normalcy of body development?

6. (Any deliberate promotion of particular types of body strength, agility, endurance, etc., beyond the degrees evolved under present normal environmental conditions will be considered "physical" or "body" training.)

a. In what respects does it seem likely to you that in persons already well developed, the special trainings for inter-high school or inter-college sports (running, rowing, football places, throwing, etc.) constitute assets or liabilities in later business, family, civic, or other non-sportive living?

b. Assuming that a high school selects for its competing teams in basketball only girls who are already well developed, agile, and "fit," in what respects is it probable that "starring" trainings here give effects of value or disvalue in later life?

c. Assuming that we knew of a contingent of now normally developed boys at 14–18 years of age, that during years 25–50 they would follow vocations of indoor, sedentary, head-working kinds, would live in cities, and would be under much pressure for financial success: could you suggest any specialized "physical trainings" which would help them meet the health hazards of their excessively artificialized later lives?

d. Assuming that large proportions of American "delicately reared" women are poorly prepared physically for the struggles of parturition, could you suggest programs of "body training" to be at least as promising as those for prospective soldiers?

B. Some Hypotheses as to Basic Conditions of Human Physical Well-Being

1. Given a fairly normal heredity and the twenty years of "human infancy" spent under "good" growth conditions, the great majority of human beings will, so far as we know, achieve to "good" bodily development in adulthood—that is, good height, size, posture, muscular growths, eyes, hearts, digestions, glandular functionings, etc.

The "normal growth conditions" to produce this optimum development clearly include optima of foods, drinks, sleep, sunshine, plays (of scores of kinds to call out many functionings), of kinds and degrees analogous to those which all through the ages have assured normal growths to wild horses, deer, crows, elephants, salmon, and wolves—and, at a further remove, those which have made for full growths of pine trees, wild rosebushes, and palms.

Of course man is more "domesticated" than most other animals —meaning by domesticated (the word comes from a root *domus* signifying house or home) subjected to man-made, artificial, "non-natural" conditions. Horses, cattle, swine, "unspecialized" dogs, cats, chickens, camels, bees, goldfish, goats, can all, apparently, revert to feral or wild or original nature conditions easier than the half-grown and adult of human beings. So far as the present writer can recall, only sheep and "specialized" dogs—pets, abnormal breeds—are more artificialized by domestication than are humans.

Hence it has become inevitable that humans, and especially the young, and to a large extent the female adults—must adapt themselves to conditions of a relatively "artificial" man-made nature compared with those under which for ten thousand centuries our animal bodies were evolved and conditioned. These conditions include: indoor living; clothes; much use of eyes at short range; much sitting; concentrated and pre-comminuted foods; much self-control (especially of social emotions); much routine work; much noise; much prearrangement (planning for the future, solicitude, worry); much restraint of sexal impulses; much fine muscle work; much mental work (schooling) for children; much living under artificial light (without ultra-violet rays); and much subjection to artificial warmth.

(It must be remembered, of course, that these artificialized conditions purchase for us the things we value as "civilization." No sensible person proposes that we should give up these artificialities in order to "get back to nature." But of course we all want to get the maximum amount of the goods of civilization, whilst paying for them as little as possible in impaired health,—that is, we seek optimum resultants here as elsewhere.)

2. Both in the conservation of general health and in the prevention or cure of disease and accident by adults on behalf of themselves and dependent minors the two obvious phases are (*a*)

self-directed action (self-medication, etc.) and (*b*) the resort to expert service. It is submitted that the current practises and ideals of the best informed and most healthy indicate the very great desirability of drawing increasingly well defined intelligible and validated distinctions between these two phases. The educative processes bearing on physical well-being (and as carried on by newspapers—in their health columns—, sanitarians, examining physicians, club groups, and other agencies in addition to schools) should be designed to focalize such distinctions in cases of particular diseases or symptoms (diphtheria, coughs, sprains, aching eyes, foot fatigue, cuts, burns, sleeplessness, etc.). It can be safely assumed that to steadily increasing degrees, well read, well schooled adults will *not* resort to expert advice and service about which they can readily be as well informed as medical men themselves. On the other hand, towards the prolonged maintenance of physical well-being, the best informed know that very obscure symptoms, once wholly disregarded, can profitably now be submitted to experts for critical examination.

3. It is obvious to the well informed that the range of health-conserving and body-growth fostering activities which require the collective action (usually governmental) which we call sanitation, public health, etc., tends steadily to increase. A listing of these activities will prove enlightening: federal quarantining, local quarantining, conservation of pure water supplies, mosquito suppression, sanatorium custody of the tubercular, school medical inspection, factory inspection, regulation of sale of habit forming drugs, pasteurization of milk, holding of tested supplies of sera, provision of oxygen apparatus (for victims of partial suffocation), public hospitals for the needy, etc.

CHAPTER XI

SOCIOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIETAL EDUCATIONS

A. Major Divisions Analyzed

1. All human beings live, play, and work in groups—often in very small groups such as pairs, coteries, and bands, but to rapidly increasing extents in large groups such as corporations, cities, nations, federations, associations, parties, denominations, and the like.

2. The psychological (or in an even more real sense, physiological and biological) foundations of group life are found in the social instincts—the affections of mother for young; the protective dispositions of strong males towards females and young; the sexal mating impulses; desires for human companionship; love of approval (and fear of disapproval) from those we "look up to"; gregariousness; romantic love between the sexes; the "comforting feel" from like-mindedness; innate predispositions of the lesser to submit in critical matters and be loyal to the greater (and, vice versa, innate predispositions of the greater, to lead, exact submission from, dominate and protect the lesser); tendencies, seemingly innate, imaginatively to assume existence of deities and demons (and spirits of humans "passed on") in the inaccessible places (and to let such beliefs profoundly influence behaviors); and others.

3. Since all human societies of which we have knowledge have already passed through thousands of generations of "cultural" evolution, it is rare to find human societal interactions which are "purely" instinctive. Even the primitive and naïve behaviors between mother and young children, between man and maid in courtship, between bully and victim in strife, between superstitious man and imagined spirits in the dark, between two fond chums, or between two partners in the wilderness are only basically instinctive. Many inhibitions, memories, learned anticipations, taught attitudes, and the like intervene to color and modify

the primitive impulses, except, possibly, in children less than one year old.

4. When we examine the behaviors of complex societies—a well established family, a trade-union, a town, a political party, the passengers on a ship, a nation in war time, the religious attitudes of the members of an old church towards their saints, departed ancestors, deities and demons, and the like—we obtain on the surface only vestiges of the primal instincts, though we must assume that in basic, almost biologically fundamental, ways, they give the "drives," the emotivating colors, the "forces" for the resulting behaviors, which on the surface again, may seem nearly altogether conditioned, if not determined, by cultural acquisitions —that is, attitudes, insights, customary reactions, ideals, tastes acquired from others of the social milieu.

5. Hence in all societies of which we now have knowledge nearly all modes of cooperative or antagonistic behavior have been largely *learned—learned* from parents, playfellows, masters, leaders, priests, fellow workmen, the Bible, novels, moving pictures, histories, social sciences, etc. The actual characters or motivating drives of these learnings may often be traced to such basic social impulses or instincts as fear of disapproval, maternal affection, desire for comradeship or fear of all-powerful postulated divinities. But substantially all their *external* manifestations, their *effective* operations, their *values* to human beings are social inheritance or cultural products.

6. But social behaviors, from *manners* between friends, to *cooperation* between stockholders in a corporation, from *rules* or *customs* under which two boys fight in the presence of comrades, to the *combat behaviors* of nationals in the war, from the *loyalty* of a 20-year-long husband to his wife, to the *devotions* of a saintly grandmother to her God, can all be *learned:* (*a*) from almost *unconscious imitations* of others and absorptions in approved social behaviors in the environment; (*b*) from the *deliberate teachings* of group associates (usually the more dominating); or (*c*) from the *purposive educations* of agencies to which have in large measure been assigned these socializing functions.

7. For many purposes it will prove highly advantageous to divide the tens of thousands of kinds of species of social behaviors

which prevail in civilized societies into three genus-like divisions—the moralities, the civisms, and the religiosities.

a. The *moralities* will be used here primarily to include the societal behaviors called for or prevalent within *small* groups—and including what we variously call manners, decencies, orderlinesses, conventionalities, proprieties, fairnesses, courtesies and the like—such as conjugal pairs, parents and children, partners, coteries, leaders and followers, employers and employees, buyers and sellers, fellow workmen, fellow travellers, village dwellers, school classes, co-worshippers, "bunkies," and hundreds of others.

Objectionable, or antisocial types of *morality* behaviors are suggested by such terms as bad manners, indecencies, disorderlinesses, unconventionalities, improprieties, unfairnesses, discourtesies, and, more concretely, by such terms as dishonesties, stealings, lyings, sexal immoralities, cheatings, brutalities, cruelties, vulgarities, injuries, obscenities, deceivings, untruthfulnesses, and hundreds of others.

b. The *civisms* will be used here primarily to include those forms of societal behavior which are essential to *large group* cooperations—and including what we variously imply by such terms as legalities (law-abidingnesses), patriotisms, civic spirit, party loyalties, *noblesse oblige*, large scale cooperativeness, democracy, toleration, and scores of others.

Species of antisocial behaviors towards large groups (including "the state," "the public interest," "the good of the order," "the social welfare," "public policy," and the like) are suggested by such terms as treason, unpatriotism, rebellion, sedition, perjury, subornation, swindling, party disloyalty, criminality, delinquency, felony, sectarianism, "boring from within," grafting, and scores of others.

c. The *religiosities* will be used here primarily to include prevalent or expected social (cooperative, hostile) behaviors towards postulated spirit beings—deities, demons, souls of departed humans, fairies, "spirits of the hearth," "saints in heaven," fetishes, "sacred places," etc.

Objectionable forms of religious behaviors (that is, antagonistic towards the spirit world, as judged, usually by leaders of religious interpretation) are indicated by such terms as infidelities, atheisms, sacrilegiousnesses, profanities, superstitions, idolatries, fetishisms, witchcrafts, wizardries, "black magics," simonies,

perjuries (usually a civic wrong, though), intolerances, and scores of others.

8. The general term "social control" is now widely used by sociologists to designate collectively the thousands of kinds of procedures adopted by social groups (other, or the more "group interested" members within them) to induce or coerce individual persons to "fit well" into the group and its purposes.

Social controls range from praises and frowns directed at children by elders, to constitutions and laws. They include "tellings" or urgings on the one hand and world-wide propaganda on the other. Methods of social control draw upon all kinds of punishments, upon thousands of kinds of solicitations and appeals to "better" (that is, more social) nature, and upon thousands of the crystallized things of the social inheritance—great forbears, creeds, monuments, emotivating songs and poetry, the instructions possible in schools. Processes of social control operate through courts and public opinion, history and art, private blame and public praise, fear of disapproval and love of influence. Religions become a powerful means of social control towards better moralities and civisms, largely by conveying what are postulated as the desires of the benevolent spirits on behalf of men and the intentions of malevolent demons to do harm to men.

9. The general term "socialize" is also extensively used, especially by educators and social workers, to denote processes of fitting individuals in better social relations. In a scientific sense there may be no considerable difference between processes of socialization and social control. But in popular understanding "socialization" probably connotes more the *leading, inducing, attracting* processes, whilst "social control" connotes more the *coercive* processes.

B. Some Significant Postulates and Hypotheses

1. There are many species of socialization which are largely achieved in nearly optimum measure through the operation of strong social instincts working out in simple social situations and under intimate pressures of desired or circumstantially impelled cooperations. Perhaps these represent considerably the old, old cooperations of our species. The most obvious of these intense, almost "natural" socializations include:

a. The *protectivenesses* of mothers and the *dependencies* and *submissivenesses* of children so long as they are young—conspicuously under 10 years of age.

b. The *protectivenesses* and *dominations* and *affections* of strong men towards wives and children and other clan relatives.

c. The *gang* or *band* or *coterie forming* propensities of persons made so strongly like-minded by their environments as to deserve the designation "herd-minded." These groupings are likely to be fairly *homogeneous* in composition, though each such group may readily yield provisional loyalty to a not-too-different leader—a *primus inter pares*. "Herd groups" form more in cooperative pursuit of fellowship, pleasure, diversion, than in pursuit of work, perhaps; but hunting, pillage, and war easily enlist and solidify them.

d. The mob, spontaneous army, or moving horde may readily come into existence as a result of some sensational crisis—a very visible danger, insult, lure, or other incentive. Such large groups may strike forcibly, but they are hard to hold together. To a degree a nation in dangerous war presents hosts of these nearly instinctive characteristics.

e. The pairing and fairly prolonged cooperation, at least under some "custom" or group pressure, of a man and woman under sexal incentives is well known. For civilized societies the prolongation of monogamous relations is complicated by the probably instinctive equipment of the male for such a succession of temporary monogamies as constitutes polygamy.

2. Some social groups under some conditions evolve into stages where it is largely *natural* for *disruptions* or *cessation* of cooperations to take place.

a. The most obvious example of this is the family, viewed as cooperations between two parents on the one side and children on the other. While children are young these cooperations are intense and usually strongly automatic. As children grow into maturity, they proliferate, repudiate parental controls, or are pushed away from parental support, and otherwise undergo processes of detachment, often accompanied by at least temporary lacerations of spirit on the part of parents, or offspring, or both.

b. Gang, band, coterie, and other largely fellowship motivated groups often dissolve as their members engage heavily in family forming, vocational, religious, or other interests requiring

extensive widening or deepening of *team* (heterogeneous) group interests.

c. The progressive evolution of local or sectional or racial or religious or economic interests in one region or under specialized conditions may easily operate to disrupt a previously fairly solid society.

3. The great majority of "societies" of which we now have knowledge—trade-unions, partnerships, congregations, towns, nations, philanthropic organizations, political parties, "secret societies," fraternal societies, school classes, business corporations, social clubs, book clubs, "protective" associations, armies, crews, and hundreds of others less well defined than these —are largely artificial creations, evolved through custom-making processes or deliberately fashioned by the genius of leadership. Within every such society will always be found persons, usually the most dynamic, percipient, social, mature, or benefited, who work hard to hold the society solid, to make it more effective, and, especially, to make the younger or less "socialized" members "come in," "play the game," and otherwise cooperate. Naturally these "society makers" use appeals to such primitive social impulses as they think available—self-preservation, self-interest, love of companionship, desire for approval, fear of ostracism, herd-forming impulses, and the like. Many of the motivating *processes* through which these appeals and pressures of social control or socialization are made are essentially educative in effect although the operators of them would hardly think of themselves as educators. But from study of these group-forming, group-conserving, and group-improving processes we can derive in large part foundations, both of purposes and of methods, for the more purposive social educations of the future towards better moralities, civisms, and religiosities.

4. To socialize or moralize an individual into good "small group" behaviors commonly involves some degree of subjection of individualistic impulses, attitudes or habits, either by the individual himself or by his controllers and influencers. Some individualistic impulses are very ancient and strong—the fear of danger which causes a man to fail comrades and country in warfare, the hunger which prompts a man to steal the food needed by others, the desire for rest or love of indolence which impels a man

to cease doing his share of needed work, the anger which leads to cruelty against relations, the lust which leads a man secretly to violate the sexal taboos of his family and clan group, and the love of property which seduces a man into betrayal of trusts. Hence in hundreds of ways small societies have for thousands of centuries employed motives of fear and love, and devices of reward and punishment, to induce men and older children to be brave in face of danger, self-denying in the presence of property of others, self-restrained in the face of sexal temptation, industrious when work needs to be done, and self-controlled when aroused to anger.

5. So potent are the controls thus developed as community taboos, clan opinion, club judgment, and family pressure that normally predisposed persons, after ten to thirty years of such socialization, "never think" of going contrary to the social standards thus uniformly imposed upon them—even where penalties are not at all exacted by law. Each reader of these lines, in observing how intensely he is shaped to dislike cowardice in battle, stealing from the poor, public indecency of dress, incest, or forgery, can appreciate how under more primitive social conditions scores of other group-approved social behaviors were assured. (So effective, indeed, are these learned forms of behavior which fight personal impulse that, commonly, we think of a present-day violator either as the product of very unfavorable family or play place environment, or as psychologically defective. In earlier times he might, too, have been thought of as bewitched, cursed of God, or in the pay of Satan.)

6. From the foregoing considerations emerges this hypothesis which seems of profound importance to programs of societal education, and especially to programs of moral and religious education: when a normal child grows from infancy to adulthood in a social environment of fairly *intense* and steadily *uniform* suggestion and valuation, negative or positive, of any fairly tangible species of social behavior (that is, when all his younger and older associates hold and express the *same* judgments of valuation on such behavior) he will not only automatically deeply learn and conform to such behaviors, but by the time he has reached adulthood, it will be a very difficult matter to reshape his deeply graven attitudes. Hence the "solidity," the irrefragability of the moral taboos, the custom-formed attitudes, the scales of values, the

established beliefs, of primitive clannish peoples. Hence, too, the deep-rooted character of the "conventions" of civilized peoples in all those areas where the adherents of these have come under no conflicting valuations.

7. A converse hypothesis of no less importance is this: when a growing child mingles successively with associates who express *unlike* valuations of social behavior there inevitably results more or less *nullification* or disorganization of motivations, resulting, if the conflicting social pressures seem to the learner of nearly equal importance, in much instability of behaviors, and varied tendencies to do the temporarily expedient thing. (Towards an adequate understanding of the social psychology involved here it must be remembered that often, to the mind of a 10-year-old boy, an 11-year-old playfellow is a more reliable authority than his mother; and that, for example, in matters sexal a farm hired man may seem to a 15-year-old lad a much better source of sensible valuations than his father.)

So far as the present writer is aware, the varied implications for socialization processes of the above two stated hypotheses have nowhere been adequately examined. Some of these implications can be suggested by examples.

a. A child is born into an Arab village the members of which village are devout "practising" Moslems. By the time the child has reached 20 years of age, even in the absence of any systematic teaching, he will have become a firmly formed, practically inconvertible follower of the teachings of Mohammed.

b. The Jews and some other "nationless" sects have for ages "kept the faith of the fathers" largely by preventing free intermingling of their children with those of gentiles.

c. Under mediæval village conditions where elders all believed in particular manifestations of witchcraft or in the anthropomorphic reality of the devil and hell, it must almost never have occurred to normal children, youth, or adults, to doubt the learnings thus inevitably absorbed by them.

d. Assume the case today of children being "strictly brought up" by parents as regards particular religious beliefs, or particular attitudes towards property, or towards sexal relations. In puberty or early adolescence these children associate with others who hold other and somewhat conflicting beliefs and valuations. Perhaps the more authoritative of these characterize the afore-

said beliefs and attitudes as "all bunk"—and, visibly, are not struck dead for saying so. Under these conditions parental examples and teachings will be partly, perhaps wholly, disorganized and nullified by contrary suggestions.

8. Among a people, and in an age, moving steadily towards a "scientific" understanding of the universe, it becomes inevitable that from conflicting beliefs, taboos, and other non-rational (not necessarily irrational) sources of valuations and other standards of social behaviors, appeals will increasingly be taken to "knowledge"—that is, to the evident, the proven, the scientific. However well any small or large society can continue effectively to function where its desired social behaviors can be supported fairly clearly on the ground of "the greatest good to the greatest number," there will certainly appear for some centuries to come many "transition situations" in which little fundamentally reliable knowledge is available. Such situations are manifestly frequent at present in areas of sex relations, war relations, state use of property relations (communism), conservation of the mentally inferior relations, tolerations, religious relations, freedom of migration relations, "closed shop" relations, divorce relations, and many other. Here "knowledge comes but wisdom lingers."

C. Morality Values: Some Problems of Interpreting Educational Foundations

1. The components of moralities can to a degree be separately studied under such heads as:

a. Instinctive (or innate) appetites, predispositions, sensitivenesses, plasticities, readinesses of response to stimulations.

b. Imitatively learned practises, habits, restraints, inhibitions.

c. Somewhat fixed attitudes, valuations, appreciations, conscientiousnesses.

d. Conscious ideals.

e. Knowledge of kinds of moral behaviors approved or disapproved by various elements in different societies or by postulated spirit beings.

f. "Knowledge of right and wrong."

g. Motivations.

Which of these elements are *learned?* Which are the kinds that can most readily be *taught* by respected superiors? Which phases can, seemingly, be most readily taught in and by schools?

2. A species of moral behavior may be thought of as actively "functional" or dynamic in situations where:

a. The behavior is much needed, and

b. There are many inducements to practise the contrary.

In this sense, describe some conditions, including sex, ages, etc., of persons involved, under which these moralities are especially dynamic: property honesties; truth telling; preserving silence; decencies of attire; sexal modesties; courage in time of danger; industriousness; dignity of personal posture; purity or decency of speech; control of impulses to anger; respect for persons culturally much removed.

3. For sociological purposes it is intended here to use the terms virtue and vice inclusively to represent desirable and undesirable moralities. Having in mind the great scope of "small group" social behaviors here included in the term moralities, describe briefly:

a. The virtues which are especially needed, and

b. The vices especially to be feared

(1) In conjugal relations.
(2) In school classes of children less than 12 years of age.
(3) In school classes of children ages 12–18.
(4) In department store service.
(5) In "standing" or mercenary or professional armies.
(6) In emergency or in strongly threatened armies.
(7) In relations of parents to children less than 10 years of age.
(8) In relations of children 15 to 20 years of age towards parents.
(9) In relations of employers of one race towards employees of a culturally inferior race.
(10) In relations of young unmarried workers of both sexes.
(11) In relations of employees to large corporation employers.
(12) In relations of executives of corporations to employees.
(13) In relations of juvenile workers (ages 15–19) to employers.
(14) In relations of very mature workers (ages 40–60) to personal employers—farms, domestic service, etc.
(15) In relations of country dwellers to each other.
(16) In relations of village women of maturity to neighbors.

4. What kinds of virtues (indicate in reference to what particular social situations) seem to you to be *taught* with a relatively high degree of success by:

a. Fathers of children 4 to 12 years of age.

b. Kindergarten schools.

c. Leaders of adolescent organizations in Protestant churches.

d. Employers and supervisors of girls and young women workers in department stores.

e. Boy scout leaders.

f. Nuns in Catholic boarding schools taking girls 12 to 20 years of age.

g. Permanent officer staffs training young soldiers under compulsory training in service.

h. "Public opinion"—expressed by ablest public-spirited men and women in a village.

i. Liberal college faculty.

j. Daily newspapers.

k. Photodrama.

l. Fiction of women's journals.

m. Fiction of *Saturday Evening Post*.

n. Mothers of daughters ages 12–18.

o. College sororities.

p. Young women (towards male admirers) in courtship time.

q. Young men (towards eligible young women) in courtship time.

r. Catholic priests using confessional.

5. "Conventionalities" may be thought of as "early stage" or mild moralities. The term "decencies" embraces somewhat more rigorous moralities (and there are a few forms of "indecencies" which are penalized by law as misdemeanors). Courtesies, politenesses, manners are often still more incipient as moralities than are conventionalities, except where "rank" is prominent, when "bad manners" or "discourtesies" are sometimes more severely penalized (by group sentiment, not law) than are crimes.

Often these milder moralities are preventives of serious immoralities. Some of them, certainly, are greatly affected by fashions. We often hear mention made of "outworn" conventionalities—and of "new" conventionalities. Do we hear of "outworn" decencies, courtesies, manners? Why, in each gener-

ation, is so much heard of the "bad manners" of "the younger set"? For purposes of clearer understanding:

a. Describe some highly valued conventionalities among culturally backward peoples which would seem ridiculous if urged among ourselves, as regards: dress (separately consider men, women, children); relations of unmarried persons of both sexes; same, married persons; greetings between men; hospitality to strangers; joint eating practises.

b. Describe some practises of primitive peoples which would seem highly unconventional, or indecent, or discourteous to us by our standards. Give separate consideration to: dress; eating; sex relations; greetings; etc.

c. Describe some fairly strict conventionalities of a generation ago which are now largely disregarded.

d. Same, some new developments which would have seemed silly to our forbears.

e. George Bernard Shaw makes one of his characters a stickler for "conventional unconventionalities." What does he mean?

f. Use some imagination in "rationalizing" (getting at real values) of some current conventionalities.

D. Qualities of Civism; Interpretations Towards Educational Foundations

I. *Organizing and Interpreting Personal Experience*

Each student of the material here presented has already had a wide range of civic experiences. Among persons of his age and sex class he probably belongs in the highest one-fifth as regards potential abilities (due to heredity, home environments, schooling, visible interests in an assured social order, humane good will, etc.) to fill a superior rôle as a sharer in the cooperative government which American republicanism of political institutions and democracy of individual place presupposes. His responsibilities as public servant or civil servant may have stopped him from certain kinds of partisan participation in collective government (politics), but that fact has only slightly interfered (if it has at all) with his *insights* into, and appreciations of, both "clean" and "dirty" politics. (Let us herein always use the term "politics" to signify the arts and sciences of collective governments wholesomely and fearlessly studied and practised; and use the term

"dirty" politics as we might use the term "dirty" or "adulterated" food, or "soiled" clothes to designate objectionable conditions.)

Out of his rich experience each student is expected to provide useful interpretations and other answers to these questions:

1. Indicate a variety of concrete qualities which distinguish these composites of human traits from each other—or which are peculiar in large part to each composite: good health; good literacy; good vocational competency; good morality; good civism; good religiousness (or piety or devoutness); good personal culture; good conjugality, good fellowship.

2. Under which of the foregoing categories should each of these aggregates of interest attitudes or traits be placed: a man's intelligent watchfulness in applying antiseptics to slight injuries; his self-sacrificing devotions to his nation's service in time of dangerous wars; his strong adhesions to the teachings of Unitarianism; his fondness for superior magazines; his sincere efforts always to tell the truth; his helpfulness to an invalid wife; his surrender of many evenings to attend party committee meetings (political) in his home ward; his popularity in his club?

3. What are some civic responsibilities to which a 15-year-old boy should be stringently held?

4. What are some civic responsibilities from exercising which a 16-year-old is debarred by law, and others from which he is debarred by custom?

5. Is it illegal or criminal to whisper in school? Is it "indecent" to commit murder? Is it "unconventional" to forge a check? Is it "immoral" to raid a bank?

6. What differences of meaning, if any, should be attached respectively to "good husband," "good neighbor," "good Christian," and "good citizen"?

7. Is a baby "a citizen" in the ordinary use of the term? A 10-year-old?

8. Does a child of 3 have *any* real civic responsibilities? A girl of 18?

9. "Jones is an excellent farmer, husband, neighbor, and

Christian; but his active civism is of a very low order indeed." Explain, criticize, if necessary.

10. "Brown is all O.K. so far as the passive or comformist civic virtues are concerned; but he is a complete dud so far as helping to make government better is involved." Explain.

11. Place in order of importance ten "civic virtues" of the passive or conformist types which would be found in any man of high civism.

12. Similarly rank ten civic virtues of active or dynamic type found in a very good citizen.

13. Can a man of very poor health still exhibit a splendid array of civic virtues?

14. Can it happen that a man who, vocationally, is a good deal of an idler (perhaps his wife supports him by washing) may nevertheless be one of the most active and *best* cooperators in exercising political civic virtues in the community?

II. *What Qualities Constitute Civism?*

1. The particular traits, qualities and behaviors of man can readily be counted by thousands, and could be analyzed into tens of thousands. But for convenience of description, these qualities can be assembled into aggregates, classes, or genera, such as "health," "honesty," literacy, etc. In ordinary communication we compare Mr. Jones and Mr. Brown as regards their patriotisms, loyalties to employers, all-round morality, religiousness, literary culture, devotion to their families, popularity with neighbors, scientific attitude, zeal in observing inacceptable laws, public spiritedness, thrift, good sense in making investments, recreative interests, etc.

2. The civic qualities, traits, or behaviors of a man are not yet so clearly defined in public or pedagogical writing as are his health, literacy, or vocational qualities. Perhaps they are as well defined as are his cultural, religious, or fellowship qualities. But educators who are to do constructive building of educational science must seek provisional agreements in all these areas, not only as to what, in the main, the qualities to be produced *are*, but also as to what they *are not*.

3. The civic qualities of a man (merging in the complexes which

can be called "good civism" or "bad civism") are clearly manifested in his observance of laws, and in his voting. A man of superior "civic spirit" is clearly one who gives much of his effort, time, money, and zeal to the *public* needs of his village, city, county, state, nation, or international affiliations. It goes without saying that he observes or tries to observe the ordinances, laws, and constitutions of his village, state, and nation, even while publicly campaigning, perhaps for the repeal of some which he thinks unsuitable.

4. But a man may show "good civism" even if he does not vote, hold unpaid office, take part in reforming movements, or belong actively in political parties. If he be a young man, or an elderly man of inferior ability, or any man under a heavy handicap of poverty, or a recent immigrant, or an able man extraordinarily preoccupied with research, travel, or other useful work, he may still be a citizen of optimum worth if he obeys all laws, pays his taxes, foments no disorder, and in opinion-making shows due loyalties to country, city, and public welfare.

5. In a properly technical sense a man's health qualities are *not* civic qualities, though bad health qualities may easily affect his civic qualities—just as bad use of his civic qualities may seriously affect his health qualities. Hence, also, it must be held that the civic qualities of a man are *not* the same as, and only rarely are they related to, his literacy, racial, vocational, religious, spirital-cultural, intellectual, recreational, marital, parental, and convivial qualities.

6. In view of sociological interpretations to be used here, neither are a man's morality qualities the same as, or at all closely related to, his civic qualities. Any social quality (i.e., any morality, conventionality, specific type of mores, regard for taboo, etc.) that was in active functioning long before *political societies* had evolved (the city-state, the commonwealth, the nation, alliances) will not be included among civic qualities. Qualities of civism relate a man first of all to the public, that is to the political, community—village to nation—of which he is permanently or temporarily a part. It is true that often the same term is applied to morality and to civic traits. For example, a man may show *cowardice* in defending his children from wolves or in defending his country from invaders. A man may be a pilferer from his

neighbor's garden or from public funds. We use the same abstract term "loyalty" to denote a man's fidelity to his wife, his self-sacrificing work as a fireman, or his patriotic service to king and country. But that is the fault of excessive generalization of terms, making us the victims of what are in reality largely analogies. Any person desirous of clear thinking can save himself through use of qualifying terms—e.g., patriotic loyalty, gang loyalty, religious loyalty, marital loyalty, business loyalty.

7. The civic traits which men may exhibit can conveniently be classified in two great divisions—the conformist, and the dynamic—according as, in their actual functioning, they are expressed in somewhat acquiescently, perhaps passively, fitting into political societies—from village to nation—or in somewhat purposefully helping to keep active, to steer, to reform, such societies. In general *good* civism requires:

a. Obedience to laws from all.

b. No voting participations, honorary office holding, political opinion-making, or political-reforming activities (all dynamic) from minors.

c. Relatively little of these dynamic civic functionings also from adults of low intellectual ability, recent immigrant status, absorbing economic preoccupations, mobile vocations, very poor health, etc.

d. That men and women of 30 to 60 years of age of superior ability and education who have prospered economically shall become especially interested in the dynamic civic functionings necessary to sustain and advance democratic political societies—such as public opinion-making, party leadership, promotion of reforms, crusading against political vices and crimes (graft, sedition, treasons), and even leading revolutions in time of need.

e. In many cases best results seem to be achieved in complex societies when thousands, convinced of the desirability of some kind of dynamic civic action, contribute funds, votes, etc., to voluntary or paid (professionalized) leaders who use the collective strength thus pooled as a kind of battering ram. (Good government associations, anti-saloon leagues, associations opposed to capital punishment, labor federations, and scores of others are examples.)

f. Hence an evidence of good civism of probably increasing importance is that of discriminating, intelligent, generously social

followership of specialist leadership in a world where few of us have the time, even if we had the ability and special knowledge, to work out complex problems of collective political (governmental) action for ourselves.

g. Qualities of good civism are often treated in aggregates, such as patriotism (thought of especially in prospect of national danger), obedience to law, and well intentioned use of suffrage. Probably we should select and find convenient designations for other aggregates such as those implied in: honest willingness to pay full taxes; dispositions to lead or share, even at heavy cost to one's self, in reforming movements; active and responsible membership in political parties for team effects or also very conscious and equally unselfish abstention from formation of party; dispositions and practises of inducing or compelling others to obey laws; conscious and even dynamic insistence on such tolerations, support of those rights of others, as will insure maximum harmony of large-scale efforts in all political "good works"; progressive intolerance of persons, parties, works, etc., that are clearly contributive to political evil—a difficult task; conscientious study of the problems, economic, political, and other, full solutions of which, if democracy is to function effectively, must be worked out by many.

8. The terms "citizen" and "citizenship" are often used, and have been more used in the past than at present, to mean what are here called "man of good (or bad) civic qualities" and "good or bad civism." But in recent popular and educational usage these two terms have become excessively generalized, sentimentalized—"All things to all men." That is, they have come to embrace *all* the qualities of men, not the political only. The "good" or "bad" citizen is now nearly the same as the "good" or "bad" man. Even children of 10 years of age are said, in a quite serious spirit, to be "little citizens." Perhaps for our purposes we can rescue these terms by using the qualifier "political"; "the good or bad political citizen"; "political citizenship."

9. Analysis and evaluation of the interrelationships of civic and other qualities, including their interdependencies, are destined to provide social psychology, sociology, and education with many very hard nuts to crack. At present most of the pedagogical

generalizations used in educational policy-making are excessively sentimentalized, aspirational, and probably largely buncombe.

10. It has already been stated that a man's—Brown's—strictly civic qualities, the qualities, that is, of his "good" or "bad" political citizenship, have no direct relationship to his marital, religious, vocational, health, or spirital cultural qualities. It has even been suggested that Brown's qualities of literacy, morality, thrift, recreation-taking, or scientific mindedness are hardly related at all to the qualities of his civism. Nevertheless, these contentions do not sound wholly convincing. We cannot help but feel that somehow Brown's "parts"—that is, in large measure, his traits—are somehow "members one of another." A man is a "unity" no less than is his body, or than is a tree, a house, or a city. What interpretations can we give here?

11. If, instead of following our usual practises of dealing in generalized *a priori* deductions here, we begin with concrete analyses of case-situations, at least some of the realistic problems involved will appear. For example, you have known, or can readily conceive of, realistic case-situations in which:

a. Very bad political citizens (criminals even) have been entirely healthy.

b. Men in very poor health have been entirely law-abiding and even self-sacrificingly dynamic political citizens—as patriots, reformers, unpaid office holders, public opinion-makers.

c. Men very successful in their professions or other vocations have been just sufficiently law-abiding to keep out of prison, and have given no active service to the causes of good civism.

d. Men of no literacy have been entirely law-abiding political citizens, and have voted well where given opportunity.

e. Men of very objectionable sexal moralities nevertheless obey property laws very well and take a wholesome interest in dynamic civisms.

f. Men have been "brutes" to wives and children, yet have done much good in politics.

g. Men have been venal, corrupt, even predatory political citizens, whilst showing excellent moral family qualities.

12. Let us designate the "conformist" civic virtues as of the "C" type and dynamic civic virtues as of the "D" type. Provide your best evaluative judgments (estimates) as to measures—e.g.,

superior, average, inferior—of C and D civic virtues (as estimated against their normal potentialities) shown in American cooperative government by respectively:

a. Successful actors and actresses.

b. The more prosperous half of "owning farmers."

c. Real estate agents.

d. Women school teachers from 21 to 30 years of age.

e. Same, after 30 years of age.

f. Factory workers engaged in highly specialized production —e.g., shoes, automobiles, table wares, textiles.

g. Home-centered, well paid artisans—railway men, building trades, workers, etc.

h. Immigrant Jews, before becoming naturalized.

i. Same, after naturalization.

j. First generation sons of Italian immigrants.

k. College graduates in business (men).

l. Women homemakers, wives of "white collar" men workers.

m. Members of Methodist churches.

n. Same, Christian Scientists.

o. Same, Roman Catholics.

E. Conserving and Transmitting Religious Values

1. The essences of all religions are to be found in *beliefs*. The most important of these beliefs relate to matters *not* at the time examinable by the senses. Matters examinable by the senses tend to become tested knowledge, realistic experience, science. At present we can have only *beliefs* regarding: the existence of a personal God; of saints and other supermundane personalities; the continuance of our own conscious personalities after death; and as to whether behaviors in this life will affect our happiness in the life which may come. Apparently, too, we can as yet have only *beliefs* as to the actuality of revelations—including those supposed to come from God, from other divinities, and from the spirits of our own departed ones.

2. Many of the essentially religious *beliefs* of men of primitive culture are proved to be wholly or partly *wrong* as tested knowledge expands. But some are proved to be nearly *right*. Probably the nearly *wrong* beliefs did more harm than good to the

holders *in the long run*, whilst the nearly *right* did more good than harm. (Recall William James's "Pragmatism and Religion.")

3. But it is of the nature of the human mind not only to accumulate and store up and use for "life more abundantly" all past experience, tested knowledge, and developed arts—the social inheritance more or less carefully conserved—but also incessantly to think *forward*, to *imagine*, to *speculate* about matters which seem significant but which are beyond the reach, as yet, of any scientific approaches—as are, for the present, the existence of God and of a future life for our own personalities. And, of course, it is of the nature of man to put to *use* such of the *beliefs* crystallized out of collective *fore-thinking* and *fore-imagining* as are fairly well agreed upon towards helping in worldly problems—such as disease-healing, increasing rainfall, controlling children, cementing marriage, and defeating enemies in battle.

4. Because men do not differ greatly in their senses and their interpreting brains, there will not long exist serious differences among them in matters where tested knowledge has been reached —sphericity of earth, source of sleeping sickness, ultra-violet rays, etc. But as regards *beliefs* it is readily possible for men to differ very widely. And because often these beliefs have become the foundations of many kinds of social behavior and, even more, of social valuations, men are disposed to resent bitterly invasions of their cherished beliefs, or influences which threaten to undermine them.

5. And because men love their children and wish their eternal welfare, they often tend to be especially resentful of threatened invasions of opposed beliefs which would corrupt the beliefs of their still plastic children.

6. Educators do not realize sufficiently how easy it is for a social group, from a family to a clan or tribe or nation, to bring children to hold tenaciously and unquestioningly the ancestral religious beliefs *when such children receive no opposed or contrary beliefs or contradictions of beliefs*—either from playmates, from elders, or from readings. *Under such conditions of homogeneous and undisturbed belief environment, and even without any systematic instruction or training, children automatically grow into adults holding the community beliefs as firmly as they hold community speech*—as is abundantly proved still in those parts of the world where "melt-

ing-pot" conditions (cultural, travel, pictorial, as well as population blending) have not arrived.

7. But when growing children are subjected to *conflicting beliefs* and to *contradictions of beliefs*, from playmates and readings as well as from elders, including teachers, then clear-cut, deeply cherished, and smoothly controlling beliefs can be formed only with difficulty, if at all. Even when formed they are apt to be rotted with secret doubts, to be held truculently, and to be poor foundations for the more difficult of moral behaviors.

8. Hence the great difficulty, if not the near impossibility, of really teaching "a religion" in America, and especially in American cities. The "belief environment" is too heterogeneous—as is often also the speech environment. Parents communicate one set of beliefs, some dominating playfellows rudely say "bunk," and presently some reading undermines the still plastic fabric also. But, in the long run, and for best social controls, deeply cherished religious beliefs still seem essential.

9. Progress of scientific knowledge renders untenable *some* concrete crystallizations of religious beliefs—but of course there are *always* regions into which scientific exploration cannot yet reach, and as to contents of which beliefs can always be formed and held.

10. The present writer believes that well informed men, perhaps thinking of themselves as "reverent agnostics," now hold enough beliefs to form a new and adequate "religion for twentieth century well schooled men" if these beliefs could be aggregated and given dynamic organization, as Mr. H. G. Wells dreams. Certainly such beliefs would find an important place for the insights, the "human revelations," of the Christian and Jewish Bibles.

CHAPTER XII

PROBLEMS OF INTERPRETING HUMAN CULTURES AND CULTURAL EDUCATIONS

A. The Purpose of This Analysis

Sociologists, and especially the anthropologists among them, now quite generally use the term "culture" to designate all those human achievements which are transmissible—arts, customs, speech, laws, stored knowledge, traditions, faiths, cleared lands, and the like. In a sociological and inclusive sense, then, "culture" is nearly the equivalent of "social inheritance."

But educators and others who are concerned, first, with evaluating potentialities and achievements of persons or classes of persons, and, second, with provision of means for more extended and more usefully functional growths of persons, constantly find it necessary to use the terms "culture," "cultured," and "cultivated" in connection with the acquisitions actually made, or to be made from, the available social inheritance. At birth a child has as yet in one sense assimilated none of the social inheritance—that is, the human culture—available to him. A backward African tribe may not yet have made its own any considerable "takings" from the cultures of neighboring peoples—writing and books, modern hygiene, agricultural tools, or monogamous marriage customs.

Unfortunately, for purposes of effective educational planning and policy-making, however, all current thinking and writing about "culture," as about so many other of the more inclusive concepts under which the possibly valuable concrete objectives of school and other educations must be assembled, seem to be excessively abstract and vague. The abstractness of the terms used seems easily to seduce into excessively deductive and unproductive thinking.

Unfortunately, too, the "cultural" acquisitions of some of us often excite only the derision and dislike of many of the rest of us. Hence the disrepute into which certain types of class-specialized or wealth-purchased cultures—the Oxford pronunciation, literary

affectations, parodied encyclopedia knowledge, the experiences of travellers—have fallen in the minds of "plain people."

We know that for centuries "culture" has constituted one of the large aims of school and travel education—and especially in secondary and collegiate schools. But even yet few educators are able to talk realistically about either the objectives or the methods of what the rest of us would agree are "good" cultural educations. Tradition has played a rôle hardly less pronounced in cultural than in religious educations. Many capable observers doubt whether the American high school really contributes importantly and vitally to the personal culture of the millions who now spend two to four years within its walls. Others think the liberal college is in even worse state—corrupted, some allege, by the materialistic spirit of America, but by others thought to be suffering from the dry-rot of misconceived aims and mechanical methods.

In the meantime there is available hardly any sociological writing which indicates clearly the elements and values of "culture" or "cultures" as these express themselves in American life. It cannot, of course, be true that only some people have "culture." Yet much of current criticism tends, with realistic analysis, to divide men into a few "cultured" sheep and a vast majority of "uncultured" goats.

Furthermore, it is still easily possible for any enthusiast to insist that his favored brand of acquisition or interest constitutes "true culture" and that all others are shams.

The following questions are designed to bring into relief for educational policy-makers (especially workers with curricula) a variety of the concrete issues suggested by sociological approaches to current problems of defining the various species of culture and of providing for schools and colleges means whereby the "cultures" of many or some Americans may be enhanced.

B. Some Fairly Homogeneous Classes of Social Values

The millions of the "good things of life," the thousands of valuables of most concern to large numbers of persons, the "social or eudemic values," pursuit of which determines large proportions of educational and other public policy, may, it is submitted, be usefully classified into the following four major groups, and somewhat again further subgrouped as indicated:

1. The Physical Values—all those involving the making and the keeping of the body an excellent instrument for its purposes.

2. The Vocational Values—all those involving pursuit of self-supporting and other economic production.

3. The Social Values—all those involving primarily the dispositions and abilities of man to live harmoniously and effectively with others, including believed-in divinities and other supernatural beings.

4. The Personal Cultural Values—here restricted to include primarily those utilizing powers and appreciations which seem to make life richer but without contributing primarily to any one of the three groups of "useful" purposes classified under 1, 2, or 3.

These four major types of "good life" values suggest corresponding classifications of educational means towards their realization (useful educations, educational values). For example:

1. Physical Values are in part to be realized by a considerable range of educational offerings towards: (Aa) Instruction and training in personal hygiene, in health conservation, in sickness prevention; (Ab) Conservation and promotion of growth of all the organs and functions of the body to optimum degree, partly through maintenance by others of good conditions, and partly by self-initiated control of growth factors; (Ac) Promotion of specific forms of body training to strength and complexity of functionings to most proven needs of classes of individuals for particular kinds of physical powers beyond those assured by normal processes of growth.

2. Vocational Values, assured first by vocational diagnosis and advised adjustment before entry upon vocational schools, followed by specific vocational training for some one of the hundreds of vocations now very much needing such training under specialized school auspices.

3. Social Values served by educational means for human and religious cooperations, of at least three degrees of complexity: (Ca) Morality educations (for small group conventionalities, decencies, morals, etc.); (Cb) Civic educations for political and other large group conformities and dynamic cooperations; and (Cc) Religious educations towards superior relationship towards postulated deities and other supersensible beings.

4. And Personal Cultural Values giving the cultural education described in the next section.

C. Cultural Values and Educations; Three Fairly Homogeneous Groups

The *culture* of a person is here taken to mean the range and depth of his utilizing interests, appreciations, and capacities in life areas *other than* the vocational, the physical (health-conserving), and the social (or cooperative). In those three areas the primary tests of a man's competencies are his *performance* powers—of earning a living, of maintaining health, of living peacefully and cooperatively with his fellows and his postulated divinities. In those three areas he utilizes, of course—but only such things as will minister fairly directly to the keeping of health, the cure of disease, the prevention of accident, the affective performance of a trade, the keeping of the good will of his fellows, the loyal serving of an employer, the productive cooperation of an employee, good voting, good rebellion against oppression, good placation of reverence demanding deities.

Cultural utilizations are of general knowledge, of books, of art, of music, of science to satisfy intellectual interests, of furnishings for good living, etc.

The three provisional classes of *cultural* values here submitted (and for which good names are not yet available) are these: the euthenic, the common spirital, and the specialized spirital.

Euthenic cultural values include all those making for *good* living (as utilization), superior standards of living, good taste in clothes, furnishings, foods, shelters, recreations—the oft-called *material* things of living.

Common (or general) *spirital cultural values* embrace all those ranges of geographic, historic, and scientific knowledge which moderately well civilized adults are nearly all supposed to possess in common, but which are of no visible use towards earning a living, keeping health, voting, rearing children, or worshipping. Here can well be included also all those widely distributed æsthetic appreciations of music, pictures, scenery, spectacles, sociabilities and the like which, though of no direct utilitarian significance, are nevertheless sources of much pleasure and satisfaction.

Specialized spirital cultural values here include the advanced utilizing interests and practises of those whom we recognize

as exceptionally "cultivated" persons—who read much good poetry, though they write none, who eagerly seek excellent music though they compose or perform none, who read extensively the findings of natural scientists and historians though they do no research in either field.

We admire the people who are customers for the best fiction, patrons of the best music, eager explorers of nature (naturalists) in their leisure hours, amateur performers, indeed, in fields where the best is the product of vocational specialists. We call these "our cultured people," but in reality all persons have *some* of such culture. These are only the advanced, the self-developing, the finer ones.

D. Educations as Means to Better Cultural Values

Among peoples having no schools—the great majority of the human race historically—there has always been much euthenic culture of course—according to the best standards of living among such peoples. By our standards there may have been little *common spirital culture*, since necessities of life may have precluded much attention to other than very practical matters. And, from our standpoint, perhaps only a rare individual went far in *appreciations* of music, legend, nature, and other fine things for their own sakes.

For modern peoples, at any rate, schools are devised largely to promote cultural educations—notwithstanding that church leaders are apt to think that primarily they should promote *moral* and *religious* educations, that parents and employers think that they should chiefly promote *vocational competency enhancing* educations, and that one kind of statesman thinks that they should principally promote patriotic educations.

But educators themselves know very little as yet about the *sociology* of cultural educations. They know little of optimum adaptations to different levels of intelligence. They are not prepared as yet to say what sound policy requires should be done with marked *surplusages* or *deficiencies* of native or early acquired interests in good music, in graphic art, in nature, in elevated converse, in personal decoration.

Even more confusing are the philosophical theories often encountered—e.g., the contentions of some of Dr. Dewey's followers —that *vocations* and culture should somehow be integrated by

educations in spite of manifest tendencies in every phase of modern life to *specialize* vocational production and to *generalize* all forms of superior utilization.

As a means of opening up a series of these obscure issues for searching analytical consideration, the following hundred questions and statements are proposed:

1. Compare yourself with two other persons of nearly your own age as to possession of each of the above kinds of cultures.

2. Do all persons more than 5 years of age have some euthenic cultures?

3. Between ages 6 and 12 what kinds of euthenic cultures do schools chiefly try to give in America?

4. Between same ages what kinds of common spirital cultures?

5. Briefly describe a variety of special spirital cultural interests which you have observed among men 36 to 60 years of age following inferior (earning power) vocations.

6. In what pronounced respects, if any, does a man's vocation, apart from its high or low earning power, affect his euthenic cultures?

7. Same, special spirital cultural interests?

8. In what marked respects do the spirital cultural interests advanced, of ministers, college professors, lawyers, and doctors as classes seem to you to differ from those of bricklayers, locomotive drivers, farmers, and coal-miners as classes?

9. Do these differences seem to you due primarily to prevailing differences of original abilities, to prevailing differences of their parental home environments, to differences of general educations or to their vocations?

10. Submit some probably true and significant observations as to the euthenic, the common spirital, and the euthenic spirital cultures of the "booboisie."

11. Same, of the intelligentsia.

12. Same, of North Mississippi Valley farmers.

13. Same, of liberal college sophomores.

14. Same, of "flappers."

15. Same, of recent immigrant Jews.

16. Same, of the "ignoransia."

17. Same, of idle wives of large-income earning husbands in New York City.

18. Same, of members of the Christian Science faith.

19. What proportions of the special spirital cultural interests of a man 40 years of age should we expect normally to have been directly produced or stimulated by his vocation, if he is a prosperous farmer?

20. Same, successful dentist or pharmacist?

21. Same, Protestant minister?

22. Same, shoe repair man?

23. Same, sailor?

24. Same, factory operative who works on heels of shoes?

25. Same, policeman?

26. Same, high school teacher of mathematics?

27. Same, house painter?

28. Assuming that a mature man's range and quality of reading interests (fiction, world news, magazines, poetry, etc.), taken together, constitute the most frequently available tests of his special or advanced spirital culture, would you think it socially good or desirable that these interests, at age of 40, should be found *closely* or only *remotely* correlated with his vocation?

29. Same, with his native intelligence?

30. Same, with his earlier general schooling?

31. Same, with his religious faith?

32. Same, with his political party adherences?

33. Same, with his racial derivations?

34. Great fondness for operatic or concert music is surely evidence of one specialized and certainly charming kind of culture. In the finer American life which we all hope to have in a few decades, would you consider it a matter for congratulation or for sadness that the patrons of this high-grade music should derive chiefly from the professional vocations?

35. Same, if chiefly the leisured "rich"?

36. Same, if patrons were chiefly of Italian descent?

37. Or of the Republican party?

38. Or of the Episcopalian faith?

39. Or were women?

40. One very attractive form of culture, certainly, is intense love of nature, and avocational striving after intimacy—mountains, or fishing, or bird-photography or butterfly collecting or exploring or orchid hunting or forest ranging. Would you desire extensive developments of these kinds of spirital culture more from urban or from rural dwellers?

41. Men or women?

42. Manual or mental workers?

43. Adults of low or of high native intelligence?

44. Where in a population relatively few persons are much advanced in culture and many are on low planes, we can speak of the situation as an aristocratic or oligarchized culture. Compare the United States of today and Periclean Athens in this respect.

45. The United States of today and of 1830.

46. France of 1770 and today.

47. Germany today and the United States.

48. The present writer believes this thesis to be true: No country in the past, and no other country today has so extensively *democratized* the three types of culture as has America. Comment.

49. In democratizing culture we have "levelled up" the mass and have "levelled down" the highest, most creative. Hence as compared with the *best* of Japan, China, Germany, France, England, and even the Scandinavian countries our *best* 10 per cent (in native endowment and opportunity) are relatively vulgar, unintellectual, materialistic, indifferent to the *fine* things of mind and emotion. Comment on this thesis which the writer thinks true.

50. Our American high schools, working four years with the best born and bred 30 per cent of our people, are exceedingly poor agencies in developing superior spirital cultures. Comment.

51. Among the agencies which have most democratized cultures in America are to be reckoned in order of importance over latest 50 years: the press; the elementary public school; urbanized environments; phonograph music; photodrama; the automobile (travel, cosmopolitan appreciations); public libraries; European travel. Comment, and add or rearrange as you think fit.

52. In reviewing commendable achievements and dangerous demoralizations of American cultures express certain sensible (*not* schoolmasterish or intellectualist) theses regarding: best seller fiction; comic strip in newspapers; wood-pulp fiction; movies and talkies; Coney Island and similar resorts; advertising; Sunday newspapers; Sunday automobile travel; white-lighted shopping streets; European summer travel; wood-pulp magazine literature; canned music; imitation gems; college education; hotel dining; bridge; and others.

53. What are your impressions of each of the three types of culture as exhibited by *Main Street* (the American small town, Sinclair Lewis); *Middletown* (Lynds); Boston, Philadelphia; etc.; Babbitts; college seniors, liberal college professors; Iowa farmers; the young people of the cow counties; the beach crowds in summer; the student body of Teachers College, Columbia University; American women school teachers, ages 35–55, in cities; same, in small places; all the superintendents of schools of the United States; all the girl clerks in department stores; all our millionaires; all the sons, ages 21–30, of millionaires?

54. In the historic sense these United States have only the vestigial and unbeautiful remnants of true leisure classes. But we have some real leisure classes of our own making. Comment on the possibilities for culture of our million hoboes.

55. Same, our million idle wives of prosperous, hard-working business men.

56. Same, our richer farmers, retired to town.

57. Same, the unmarried daughters of the prosperous, ages 20–50.

58. Same, the Palm Beach "smart set."

59. Same, all of us on our summer vacations.

60. Americans of age 25 or more can be divided into ten classes,

each containing 10 per cent of population, determined by their *potentialities* for cultures, and especially of the spirital, these potentialities being composites of *native endowments* and *favoring opportunities*—classes A (highest), B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J (lowest). To which would you assign yourself, and why?

61. In terms of your estimates of potentialities of this class, wherein do you think you have *excelled;* been *normal;* and have regrettable *shortages?*

62. To which of the above classes would you assign: the usual run of Pennsylvania coal-miners of continental European birth?

63. The usual run of North Mississippi Valley farmers who at the age of 40 have $20,000 to $40,000 farm property?

64. The usual run of recent Jewish immigrants who enter the clothing manufacturing business?

65. Country school teachers, women, ages 20–30?

66. Lawyers as a professional class?

67. Persons holding A.B. degrees as a class?

68. Recall two of your associates who seem to you to have risen especially high in certain cultural achievements. Describe their outstanding cultural qualities.

69. A widely travelled educational lecturer once said of the women teachers of a certain city that they were "the best dressed and poorest read crowd he had ever seen." Comment, as regards culture—since taste in dress is culture, too, is it not?

70. What adverse and favorable comments are you ready to make as to the cultures of different classes (racial, schooling, sex, vocational, religious, age level, regional, urban vs. rural, economic, etc.) of Americans as respects: general reading (newspaper, etc.)?

71. Same, music?

72. Same, dress?

73. Same, speech, voice?

74. Same, manners, etiquette?

75. Same, travel?

76. Same, poetry?

77. Under former or simpler social conditions of travel, caste-like vocational cleavage, fairly static sumptuary standards, etc., a man or woman evolved much of their culture, their cultural interests, etc., from or in some close association with their vocations. Show how, in early America, mediæval Europe, Indian life of half a century ago, "retarded culture" among native peoples in Africa or Asia today that general condition prevailed as regards dress, literary (or oral legend), musical, etiquette, and other interests, general knowledge, cultural avocations, etc.

78. Show how such vocational and cultural interconnections still survive to a degree among: Catholic priests; army officers; millionaire business men; liberal college professors; coal-miners; cattlemen; elderly school teachers.

79. On the other hand, has not the situation almost completely changed as regards: factory workers; prosperous farmers; all workers in trade (merchandising); most school teachers; nearly all other professions; and especially in younger generations? Give your impressions.

80. Dr. Bode and some other contemporary writers seem to think that educators should plan to have "vocations" yield much more of culture, or be vitalizing centers for it, than at present. Your general comment.

81. The present writer thinks all current tendencies on the one hand towards specialization of production, and on the other towards democratic diversification and widening of utilizations, render it both inevitable and desirable that personal cultures and vocational pursuits shall have less and less to do with each other. The competent dentist—or locomotive driver or school teacher of physics or grower of cranberries or setter of type for display advertising or cooker of pies in a hotel or miner of copper ore or oil well pumper or writer of finance items for metropolitan newspapers or producers of comic strip—will more and more work from twenty to forty hours per week intensively at his specialty, adding perhaps two to ten hours to advance himself in it, and then devote his remaining fifty to sixty waking hours per week to general reading, reception of music, sports, amateur gardening, travel, theatre attendance, social intercourse, etc., quite irrespective of particular vocations followed. Some losses from this—far greater gains. Comment.

82. Of course Utopian aspirationalists (soft sentimentalists?) will still urge that in some mystical way demanded by an "integrated" life a man's vocation *should* somehow be made the solar center of his cultural life. The present writer thinks it would be just as silly to urge a man to make his sleep life the center of his vocational life, his marital life the center of his political life, his religious life the center of his economic production life or his vocational life the center of his health life. In the life well adapted to modern conditions *standards* for each of these phases of complete living must be determined largely independently of each other. For health of mind and body, for good family, religious, and civic life, perhaps it is best that the modern city man should work hard seven hours each day, then completely forget his work and plunge into other activities. Who can admire the school teacher, housewife, and pitiable small farmer whose duties cling to their thought, sleeping and waking, in a kind of sad treadmill? Comment.

83. We expect the normal American from 22 to 70 years of age to *work* at production for seven to nine hours per day for six days per week for forty-eight weeks per year, and to *advance* his culture beyond school attained levels in the remaining 3,300 hours per year (8,700 in all, 3,000 for sleep, 2,400 for productive work). How much of these 3,300 should be devoted to cultural *generalization* (all-round culture) and how much to advanced cultural *specialization*—in music, literature, nature, travel, general informational reading, etc.,—by persons of nearly *your* potentialities?

84. Same, by persons of I.Q. under 90 and from crude American backgrounds?

85. Same, by persons in highest tenth of American abilities and highest tenth of cultural background (once Back Bay, Boston, now ———?)

86. Same, men and women of I.Q. 100–110, settling down to be prosperous American farmers?

87. Same, women of I.Q. 90–110, settling into American urban homemaking?

88. Let us think of a Gopher Prairie (Sinclair Lewis' *Main Street*) or Podunk of the future when our schools from kindergarten to liberal college will have done all that you can now con-

ceive to be their best for cultural education (A.D. 2,000) as a very admirable "cultured community." Think analytically of that community from many angles, e.g.: the reading interests of its most able adults; least able; kinds of music well patronized; percentages of population loving to speak and read French; or Japanese; proportions of ornithologists; prevalent "good taste" in choice of furniture; strong manifestations of "community art"—in parks, public buildings, statues, park music, museums, public extension lectures; local "self-culture" clubs (kinds?), etc., etc. Write up some suggestive reactions and expectations of your own.

89. How would you expect a large metropolis to differ?

90. How a Troy, devoted largely to the manufacture of collars and shirts?

91. How a Harlem—a Negro city?

92. How an Imperial Valley—a rich region devoted largely to "manufacturing from the soil"?

93. How a Hollywood—specializing in productions of photo-drama, "best seller" culture?

94. If "all the children of all the people" are at the insistence of their parents and public legislation to attend full-time non-vocational schools presently to 16, then to 17, next to 18 years of age, and if democratic recognition of prestige requires that these be "high schools" even for the low I.Q.'s—what *new types* or greatly *modified types* of cultural education should be offered for the less able in such high schools? (Present writer thinks "high schools" as such are utterly unsuited to give efficient vocational educations, each type of which must be concentrated into from one to ten specialized schools per state.)

95. Multiplying numbers are seeking at least two years of liberal college education—non-vocational, by preference or imposed requirement. Wherein do liberal colleges now seriously fail to give good or well adapted *cultural* educations? Wherein do they seem especially unsuited to persons of modal 50 per cent of intelligence?

96. The present writer believes that a good vocational school of carpentry or dentistry or shoe repairing or poultry-farming or of

hotel waiting or of comptometer operation or of coal-mining foremanship or of shoe selling should *never* attempt to provide courses or other offerings in school hours for cultural or other strictly non-vocational education. (Though, since most of the pupils will in the future be at least 17 years of age and living as boarders or away from home, any particular type of vocational school—from one of house painting with a twenty-four weeks' curriculum to one of elementary teaching with a two-year curriculum, or one of medicine with a four- or five-year curriculum—should helpfully promote extra-school facilities for continuance of cultural self-educations (and other general educations) through libraries, music, clubs, etc., etc.) Comment.

97. The ideal of *self-education* in cultures after schools have made starts should always be developed, promoted. Suggest ways and means.

98. What seem to you possibilities and practicabilities of schools —from kindergarten to college—affecting cultural educations through movies and talkies? Are school influences needed?

99. What seems to you the future of better cultural educations in and through literatures or good readings?

100. Same, natural sciences?

101. Same, musical subjects?

102. Same, manners, etiquette?

103. Same, speech?

CHAPTER XIII

INTERPRETING FOUNDATIONS OF VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

A. Some Postulates and Hypotheses for Laymen

1. All adults *need* vocational effectiveness—if they are to keep alive and out of prison or poorhouse. But most schools (except professional colleges) do not today contribute to vocational effectiveness directly, and probably should not. Certainly it would corrupt the kindergarten to try to make it in any way prepare for vocations. Of course the reading and writing and utilizer's arithmetic taught in the first six grades are useful later in *some* vocations. But they are, or should be, so much *more* useful for personal culture and good civism that we cannot seriously claim that the elementary schools teach them, except incidentally, for *vocational functionings*.

The junior high school authorities now often conceitedly name some of their courses "industrial," "commercial," etc. They talk about giving "prevocational" educations, and allege that a principal purpose of shop work is "vocation finding" or "orientation." But these are nearly all pretenses, shams, and educational quackeries—albeit often the products of well meaning ignorance or at least frightfully uncritical thinking. It is doubtful if the splendid American junior high school everywhere developing could, if it should and would try to offer vocational training, be more than 1 per cent effective in striving towards *vocational* achievements rather than its really proper ones—culture, civism, health, etc.

Even in giving vocational guidance it is doubtful whether during the next twenty years the junior high school can render really helpful service to more than 10 to 20 per cent of its pupils.

2. But if all adults need vocational educations where do they get them now? Five per cent get their vocational educations in professional vocational schools—of which America has now about a thousand for its best born and best bred sons and daughters. Another 5 per cent are vocationally fitted for trades through

organized apprenticeship. The remaining 90 per cent get their vocational education in the way the fowls of air get food—by pick-up, haphazard, wasteful methods.

Should America now try to provide vocational schools for the rank and file 90 per cent as it already does for the *aristogenic* 5 per cent? Many educators say, "No!" But others say, "Yes, if it is practicable."

Must laymen take a hand in the matter? The writer says "Yes, emphatically!" for these reasons:

a. Superintendents, principals, and other policy-making educators are so busy trying to carry out present plans that they view with much disfavor proposals *which seem to them to add* new burdens to the high schools, for example.

b. Many leading educators are still so uninformed as to real educational values that they still think that good *general education* —as, e.g., attempted in present four-year high school curricula— makes important contributions to vocational competency.

c. Some dog-in-the-manger educators still contend that if we are to try to offer public vocational training facilities we must weld them into the present high school organization—a procedure which spells utter futility and educational defeatism, and is sometimes so intended!

d. Some educators imagine that the industrial, agricultural, and homemaking schools or departments now organized under the Smith-Hughes Act, and the commercial schools and departments everywhere found in cities and towns are today meeting or will soon meet America's needs for widespread vocational education through schools. They do not realize that, at best, these schools try to prepare for only a bare two or three dozen of the many hundreds of vocations now found in the United States; that even for these they give only thin, scant, and often poorly functioning preparation; and that, in general, employers still regard them as shallow and ineffective.

3. Leading laymen and laywomen of large influence and insight into social needs can especially promote realistic and common sense attitudes towards the educations which make directly for particular kinds of vocational proficiency. For example:

a. They can insist that a total system of school and college educations for a civilized country is still shamefully *undemocratic* so long as it provides many and excellent vocational (profes-

sional) schools for those endowed with superior brains and prosperous parents, whereas for the multitude with average or less than average brains it provides only a few weak and ineffective vocational schools, and fewest of all for those of poor parents.

b. They can insist that American public schools should *not* attempt to provide any serious vocational training for youths under 16 years of age—and should presently expect the large majority to stay in schools of *general education* (much improved over the present, we hope) until 18 years of age before beginning true vocational training.

c. They should clearly see that for nearly all trade, factory, commercial, and even agricultural vocations, from one to a dozen vocational schools in any one state for each distinctive vocation is all that will be required—as is so clearly the case now with vocational schools of medicine, engineering, teaching, and agricultural leadership. The entire country seems amply served for war and naval leadership by one vocational school at West Point and another at Annapolis.

d. Hence they should infer the preposterousness of current weak aspirations that facilities for vocational training should be included in our present thousands of localized high schools. The present writer believes that when we come to hold really worth while standards of training for even stenography-typing and homemaking, then even these two types of vocational training will be relegated to really efficient central schools, and so leave our high schools free for their really important, and as yet incompetently performed work, namely, to elevate, democratize, and render much more socially functional our upper levels of cultural, civic, health, and some other kinds of strictly non-vocational education.

4. The America of the future towards which we build will prize so much the conservation of the several types of potential efficiency of its members—health efficiency, moral efficiency, civic efficiency, cultural efficiency, religious efficiency, and vocational efficiency—that it will increasingly insist on more and better types of educational help to produce and conserve such efficiencies.

Under present economic and other social conditions we can do much in schools with children 10 to 12 years of age to elevate their potential health, moral and cultural proficiencies, but that is al-

together too soon to give direct preparation for their vocational proficiencies.

The same conclusion applies largely also to the years between 14 and 16—not because youngsters of that age have not through all the ages worked and learned to work, but because of *changed conditions* of American production—in mines and on railways, in automobile factories and meat-packing establishments, in department stores and on up-to-date farms.

B. Some Postulates and Hypotheses for Policy-Making Educators

1. Non-school vocational education (apprenticeship, followership, pick-up méthods) is highly inefficient in the United States and tends to become less rather than more effective, owing to changing conditions in production. (Apprenticeship has always been much less effective here than in some foreign countries, and home-followership training also.)

2. Vocational education through schools is as effective in the United States as elsewhere, probably. (Vocational schools for the professional vocations are probably *more* effective here than elsewhere.) But, measured in terms of needs, America's *school vocational* training for all the non-professional vocations has surely not yet achieved 1 per cent of its potential effectiveness.

3. There are no insurmountable theoretic difficulties in the way of establishing a full-competency vocational school for any tangibly standardized or customary vocation. Or, to put it differently, any experienced educator could within one-half year organize a full-time, full-competency training school for any specific one of the thousand or more distinctive vocations now found in New York City, if given the means to provide equipment and teachers, to negotiate and pay for cooperative facilities for graded participations in commercially productive work, to be freed from all obligations to continue general cultural, civic, hygienic, or other non-vocational, educations and to select as student personnel entrants of optimum qualifications for the vocation in question.

4. As *means* of vocational education all *technical schools* (offering knowledge but not practise, as, for example, all business schools or commercial departments—except in stenography-

typing—all home economics courses, all technical high schools, all agricultural high school courses, many colleges of agriculture, etc.), all *extension courses* (evening, apprentice related, Y. M. C. A., agricultural extension, continuation school, etc.), all *day industrial schools* (e.g., Smith-Hughes day) which do not lead to journeyman proficiencies, and other *part-competency* offerings are, when their actual achievements in added vocational powers, and their proportions of students entering work for which the training is directly functional are (estimated against money and time costs) probably inordinately expensive (e.g., per unit-achievement per student-hour) and of doubtful efficiency.

5. American high schools, being neighborhood-service schools, are utterly unsuitable as *centers* of vocational education, except in the rare instances where such schools assemble four to ten thousand students. (A neighborhood containing, e.g., 1,000 adolescents will commonly provide from one to five workers for each of many hundreds of vocations.)

6. For most vocations any typical well populated American state (e.g., our forty most populous) will require only one or, at most, a few full-time vocational schools of a size to give optimum combinations of efficiency and economy for hundreds of such vocations as carpentry, house painting, automobile repair, barbering, hotel cooking, dairy farming, shoe selling, job printing, machine typesetting, poultry growing, seamstress dressmaking, photography, truck driving, coal-mining, shoe repairing, stationary engine firing, or sign painting. (Note that most states now need only one or a few vocational schools of law, dentistry, nursing, elementary school teaching, or engineering.)

Even for such vocations as market gardening, stenography-typing (if properly developed), homemaking, and corn farming it is doubtful whether any state needs more than from ten to thirty central schools if these are to be of optimum size. (Of course it would be excellent economy for states to pay travelling and boarding expenses of properly mature students—surely never under 17 and more often 19 to 23 years of age—in these schools—as Uncle Sam does now for West Point and Annapolis, and as Scotland and Australia do for prospective teachers.)

7. The widespread popular assumption that *subdivision of labor* and *extensive use of machinery* have so simplified the large

majority of vocations involving the production of automobiles or cotton cloth or shoes or wheat or milk or transport or cooked food or mineral oil or books or other mass products, is largely unsound. In most lines of highly mechanized production—locomotive driving, manuscript typing, newspaper publishing, gasoline manufacture, city school teaching, modern road construction, high class hotel service, city lot excavation, furniture making, department store selling, telephony, radio manufacture, and fruit packing—*some* service may be adequately rendered by persons of inferior abilities and preparation. But in steadily rising proportions of cases in these and other fields like them, demands are growing for more service which combines superior native with superior acquired powers of insight, moral self-control, sobriety, self-education, sense of responsibility and, often, leadership.

8. Full-time vocational training and instruction—based on an eight-hour day or forty-hour week—if provided under some well-evolved scheme in 1950 for *all* the sons and daughters of *all* the people—slightly over one million of each sex for each year-age—will not prove nearly so expensive as commonly assumed for the reason that if properly mature, properly motivated, properly selected students, and properly located schools are available, from six to thirty-six weeks of concentrated training will suffice for the great majority of vocations.

9. A variety of very dynamic social conditions in America—increasing wealth, better diffusion of income, smaller families, increasing proportions of adults between 30 and 60, curtailed immigration, democratic aspirations of increasing proportions of parents for fuller educational advantages for their children—have all been conjoining in recent years greatly to increase proportions of young persons remaining in full-time schools until 16 or 18 or 20 years of age. And the end is not yet. Presently *all* the children of *all* the people under our democratic ideals will want to remain in *general* schools at least to 16, whilst half will so remain to 18 and a quarter will seek liberal colleges.

10. Hence even now any vocational school would be well advised to make 16 a minimum age of admission. By 1935 no person should be admitted to a vocational school for a simple or juvenile vocation at less than 17 years of age, or to a *bona fide* trade or other journeyman school at less than 18 or 20 years of age.

11. The silly assumption often made that large proportions of boys and girls, and especially those of duller brains, will not desire to continue their *general*—that is cultural, civic, hygienic, developmental—educations beyond 14 years of age derives from the fact that whereas for hundreds of years schoolmasters have been evolving means of secondary education for the hereditarily gifted of high social station, not until yesterday in effect have educators begun to seek means—objectives, subjects, methods—of advancing the general educations of the less gifted between ages 14 and 18—or even after 12.

12. Another oft-reiterated silly assumption is to the effect that if at 15 or 16 years of age the less able youths are permitted "to leave school"—where until recently they have been fed the husks of seventh grade grammar, formalized histories or non-functional arithmetic, or else, farther up, the even more grotesque algebra, French, and other first high school year subjects—and "go to work," they would not thereafter return—perhaps not having the means—to full-time vocational schools. Such an assumption disregards the fact, first, that for persons entering the sub-professional vocations really effective vocational schools have never been available, whilst conditions of apprenticeship have seemed unpromising; and, second, that all the pathetic evidence of night school attendance, correspondence school patronage, and promotion hunting (seen in labor turnover) points to tremendous demands for vocational preparation between ages 18 and 30—when men especially are seeking earning opportunities adequate to the support of a family.

13. Another unsound assumption often made by educators is that genuine and enduring vocational motivations through some magic originate from *within* persons, rather than that they are conditioned by social pressures and enlightening processes in the human—that is, family, gang, crowd, newspaper, photodrama, courtship and other—environment.

A Central European boy may at 14 years of age be well motivated to enter upon the arduous toil and blame-taking of a severe apprenticeship. The American youth will not reach that stage until perhaps 18—and perhaps not at all.

Why should any open-eyed person expect American girls at ages 15–17 to be motivated to learn the vocation of homemaking

—in view of progressive detachment from maternal influences, progressive gravitation towards pre-marriage gainful employment, and remoteness from actual betrothal—and especially among the looked-up-to classes?

14. Among the problems later to be considered are those of studying at least three basic stages in vocational participation—the junior or juvenile stage from ages 15–18 to 18–21, the operative or journeyman stage from ages 18–21 to 25–35, and the mastership (self-directing, capital owning, leadership) stage from ages 25–35 to end.

Perhaps in most cases from ages 15–18 motivations under American family, employment, spending and other conditions are for the "job" only—not for settlement, for gainful advance, for self-education. Perhaps most girl workers in gainful work remain thus motivated until marriage—and hence are indifferent to unionization, to prepared for promotions, to lures of extension courses.

But perhaps most men after the juvenile period become eager for a *secure* place, for a *family-maintaining* wage. Hence their zest for extension courses, for union protections.

Later the abler ones will seek mastership stages.

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